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ABSTRACT

The 5-year Experimental Schools (ES) project in the South Umpqua, Oregon, school district was observed from a "participant observer" point of view. The South Umpqua district served four rural communities in which residents were adaptable to economic change, accepting of newcomers, and very involved in their communities as decision makers or informal workers. About 1970, four major changes in the area began to occur: the social system became "flat" (with increasing freedom of association and conduct); the communication system became eclectic; the sanction system changed; and the monetary values changed. School administrators, attempting to improve education, applied for and received the ES federal grant in the spring of 1972. The ensuing five years resulted in numerous unanticipated problems including teacher overloads, greatly strained community-school relations, and high faculty turnover. At the end of the fifth year the public perceived declining student achievement, increasing delinquency, rising budget levels, and arbitrary student treatment. On the other hand, the administrators perceived rising student accomplishment, stable delinquency, a declining budget, and systematized student treatment and achievement testing. The South Umpqua conflicts may have resulted in greater public involvement and greater democracy in the educational system. (SB)

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Cooperation and Conflict in Long-Term Educational Change: South Umpqua, Oregon

Lawrence Hennigh

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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COOPERATION AND CONFLICT IN LONG-TERM EDUCATIONAL CHANGE:

SOUTH UMPQUA, OREGON

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May 1979

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PREFACE

This case study of a five-year Experimental Schools project on the part of South Umpqua (Oregon) school district is a success story, in part. Educators developed and carried out an extremely ambitious educational innovation to the end, in spite of a great many unexpected and competing developments which had to be dealt with. At the same time, the information to be presented may be cause for concern. It is very unlikely that the people most directly involved would have accepted the challenge if they had suspected what was in store for them. The qualification of the label "success" is necessary because this case study is also a documentation of gross underestimation of impending difficulties on the part of everyone concerned.

Examination of the Experimental Schools project focuses on the recipient community and schools as seen by a resident anthropologist, who came to be labeled as a "friend of the schools," that is, a citizen who could be counted on to chaperone field trips or to perform other public services. My wife and I were continuous residents of the area for four-and-a-half of the project's five years. This long-term residency resulted in our being assimilated into the community, where we studied friends rather than subjects. Thus we came to share a view of that which was locally considered to be important.

The ability to describe the importance of events from a local perspective has at least two advantages. First, it provides a criterion for deciding what data should be included from the much larger body of data which were gathered. Second, it allows one to place the Experimental Schools project itself into local perspective.

While the advantages of long-term fieldwork are significant, two points of caution should be made. First, I was a veteran fieldworker, but not an educational anthropologist, when I first entered South Umpqua. I was never able to gain more than passing insight into the fine points of selecting text books, evaluating teachers, and so on. I believe my capacity to understand education as a profession came to be about on a par with other "friends of the school," who associate with and respect educators a great deal. Therefore, I was forced to view education as a social system, no more difficult, but alas,

no easier to comprehend than any other social system. This case study would probably convey more of a sense of continuity had it been grounded in educational theory. What I observed instead was rapid culture change.

Second, grant- or contract-awarding agencies naturally place a great deal of importance on their input into funded local innovations and expect the recipients to do the same. Recipients in South Umpqua did place great emphasis on the Experimental Schools project, but they also had to address many problems about which the funding agency must have been unaware and possibly disinterested. Documenting these "irrelevant" crises might be seen as a digression, but they were not irrelevant from the local point of view, and they did constitute major threats to the success of the Experimental Schools project. Such "extraneous variables" have been mentioned in the literature, but have seldom been documented and rarely appreciated. If the reader gains some appreciation of how recipients of federal funds must simultaneously deal with both planned and unplanned change, the purpose of this case study will have been served.

It is impossible to list more than a few of those to whom I am indebted for helping me through what at times seemed to be an impossibly large task. Both my wife and I are indebted to the people of South Douglas County who made us welcome and enabled us daily to document the local value of "Never refuse a reasonable request." I am especially grateful to both teachers and administrators in the South Umpqua school system whose candor and openness I, as a mere observer, could not always repay in kind.

Although I alone am responsible for the following case study, it was, to a great extent, a team effort. I am grateful to reviewers of my various preliminary manuscripts: Homer Barnett, Ray Barnhart, Howard Becker, Phillip Cusick, Elizabeth Eddy, Ray Rist and Harry Wolcott. Support from the Abt staff in Cambridge is gratefully acknowledged. Such support was always forthcoming from Robert E. Herriott, project director, and deputy directors Stephen J. Fitzsimmons and Michael B. Kane, to name only three. Peter Wolff, Michael G. Trend, and Abby Freedman provided valuable editorial assistance, while Andrea Kovacs and Mary Schumacher added assistance upon request. The other On-Site Researchers, each in his or her own way, added support, and I hope I was able to reciprocate.

Most of all I wish to thank my wife, Maggie--typist, editor, critic, key informant, companion, and anthropologist's wife, without whose assistance this joint endeavor would not have been completed.

Potsdam, New York
May 1979

Lawrence Hennigh

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INTRODUCTION

In 1972 the South Umpqua School District in Oregon became one of ten rural school districts in the nation to receive substantial federal funds for self-directed educational improvement. Each of the ten districts had agreed to participate in the Experimental Schools (ES) program, an ambitious new approach to "comprehensive educational change" (Herriott 1979). The results were intended to be of practical significance should Congress choose to design legislation specifically for federal aid to rural education. A condition of the funding was that the districts allow themselves to be studied by Abt Associates Inc. (AAI) of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a private research firm under contract with the National Institute of Education.

I was employed by AAI as a resident On-Site Researcher (OSR) in South Umpqua for four and a half years. My wife and I arrived in the district in January of 1973. We were forced by a growing housing shortage to settle in the adjacent Riddle School District rather than in South Umpqua as we had planned. The location turned out to have several advantages. First, each of the four communities in the South Umpqua district has a distinct "social personality," and so maintaining a common perspective of the district as a whole was helped by viewing it from a neutral location. Second, many families reside in one community and work in another. Being such an individual myself, I have a greater appreciation of the problem of remaining knowledgeable about one's own community when one's associations are elsewhere. A recurring problem for the school administration was the difficulty in keeping the public informed.

During the course of my years of observation it became apparent that some assumptions about rural communities and their school systems were losing their validity. At one time, students in rural America were considered to be somehow "culturally deprived" in that they were isolated, had access to few public facilities, and had limited economic opportunities. But during the 1970s the value of rural lifestyle as an ideal was rising nationally (Beale 1975: 1-12). People in South Umpqua remembered that a decade earlier school districts paid premium salaries to

teachers to keep them from leaving the area for "the bright lights" of the cities; in the 1970s the schools were able to attract teachers and administrators with the highest credentials, often at lower salaries than their best offers for urban employment.

This case study is one of a series of accounts about projects funded by the Experimental Schools program (see also Burns, 1979; Clinton, 1979; Colfer and Colfer, 1979; Donnelly, 1979; Firestone, 1979; Messerschmidt, 1979; and Stannard, 1979). I therefore felt an obligation to include as much information as possible for comparative purposes. If the bargaining power of teachers' organizations increased in three ES districts and the point is omitted for South Umpqua, the comparative reader might feel shortchanged. On the other hand, South Umpqua participated in a nationally famous taxpayer revolt during the course of the Experimental Schools program period. It would be a satire on responsible field work to concentrate on the third grade reading program while the real problem, as defined locally, was whether the schools would lock their doors before Christmas.

The bulk of the larger research effort of which I was a part consisted of information gathered from questionnaires or by me and analyzed by the AAI staff in Cambridge, Mass. (see Abt, Cerva and Marx, 1978; Abt and Magidson, 1979; Fitzsimmons and Freedman, 1979; and Rosenblum and Louis, 1979). I felt an obligation to place that distant material in perspective by presenting a picture of South Umpqua, as much as possible, from the perspective of the values of its residents. This case study presents observations on a school and its public adapting to divergent, albeit national, standards of excellence until the inevitable resulting clash occurred. If the reader accepts the argument that honest people, reasoning from different assumptions, can reach opposite conclusions on the basis of the same evidence, then the divergent points of view described in this study will not be difficult to follow.

In the social sciences a model is a small theory, such as a theory about a particular people or, more important to this case study, a theory people have about themselves. As Daniel Bell put it in his analysis of predictions in the social sciences:

> The most difficult of all proposals is the heart of the social science enterprise itself, the construction of models of political systems.

> The creation of a model allows us to do two [of a large number of] things. It may allow us to see whether a predicted change is one which simply affects the actors in a system (e.g., a shift of power between groups), or affects the nature of a system itself. To illustrate...:
>
> From the standpoint of a Mohammedan, all Christians are alike. The involved theological disputes between Catholics and Protestants may have little meaning for him because both are "children of Jesus." To a Catholic, the differences between a "hard-shell" Baptist and a Quaker may have little relevance for him since both are "enthusiasts." In a similar fashion, to a confirmed Marxist, the difference between a Democrat and a Republican in the American political system has little meaning since both are capitalists. But to understand any analysis or criticism, one has to identify the standpoint from which it is made. One function of a model, therefore, is to indicate the value-relevance and level of analysis from the standpoint of the observer (Bell 1964:872).

My fieldwork approach is directed toward grounded theory as described by Schatzman and Strauss in Field Research (1973). In a grounded theory, problem statements are not a prerequisite to field work; they may emerge at any point in the research process (ibid.:2). The fieldworker's task requires distinctive and flexible strategies to maximize discovery (ibid.:13); his concern is the fruitfulness of observation from any given angle (ibid.:15). Having written his final report, the researcher makes a commitment to the validity of the reality he has created (ibid.:118).

I have attempted a humanistic description (in the sense of remaining close to the data) from as many different perspectives as possible. My field work included observing classrooms, riding school busses, formal and informal interviews, researching documents, and sitting through seemingly endless series of formal meetings. The emphasis, however, became that of participant observer. Both my wife and I were active in the community, sometimes in leadership positions. In the schools I guest lectured or gave short courses in local history, lithic technology, interviewing techniques, gold panning, Eskimo culture, and other subjects. I chaperoned field trips, counted ballots in a teachers' election, and otherwise served as a friend of the school. I was a member of the Myrtle

Creek Chamber of Commerce, the Canyonville Breakfast Club, and the Bishop's Committee of the Episcopal Church, served as chairman of Canyonville's Pioneer Days, and was on the board of the South Umpqua Historical Society. My wife was a correspondent for the Myrtle Creek Mail and held office in several organizations.

There were several reasons for choosing to become a participant observer: (a) it was more efficient, especially for a longitudinal study of change. (Much time would have been lost in arranging formal interviews, and the data from them would have quickly become obsolete as the situations they referred to changed.) (b) residents emphasized spontaneity and informal decision-making processes. Readers are justly skeptical of "loosely structured societies." Brought to mind is Aberle's joke that all students of Navaho society are incompetent because they come back with "fuzzy data," as compared with all students of Pueblo societies who are brilliant because they record crisply precise patterns of social action (Aberle 1963:1). Faced with this dilemma, I gained a leader's, and therefore key informant's, perspective by becoming a key informant myself. (c) I did not have a great deal of choice in the matter. Residents of South Umpqua have a sure test -- and cure -- for potential trouble-makers. They put them to work on the reasonable assumption that those who would do wrong are basically lazy. Non-participating newcomers are seen at best as disinterested outsiders.

The resulting case study is presented in nine chapters, organized in a roughly chronological presentation of South Umpqua from before the introduction of Experimental Schools to reflections on how the project ended. Chapter One, Description and History, is intended to show the environment of the district and the historical cycles of community, both of which influenced the development of the Experimental Schools project.

Chapter Two, the Social Setting, was by far the most difficult to write. It was obvious from the beginning that the people of South Umpqua value freedom, spontaneity, and the right to be left alone. It was obvious also that they behave in a very organized manner, successfully defend their community against threatening outside forces, and assimilate newcomers. The chapter is intended to show how the social system operates and to facilitate an understanding of the descriptions of what people actually did during the development of the Experimental Schools project.

Chapter Three, Changes in South Umpqua, analyzes parallel developments in the community which would have happened anayway, and which would have kept school personnel thoroughly occupied, even if the Experimental Schools project had never been introduced. The two sets of changes were to collide many times.

Chapter Four, The Schools, is intended primarily for educators, who, I presume, will automatically compare the educational resources in South Umpqua with those of the schools with which they are personally acquainted. I also presume educators will keep the comparisons in mind while reading the chapters on the Experimental Schools years.

Chapter Five, The Planning Year, describes the dilemma of educators operating against tight deadlines and between two sets of forces, neither of which was well understood at the time at the local level. The forces were unpredictable federal expectations and unrecognized changes in the local community.

Chapter Six, The Implementation Year, describes dislocations and difficulties in the new project during the ongoing school year. Inherent difficulties in implementing new programs were compounded perplexingly by both teachers and the public, who were simultaneously supporting and attacking the school system.

Chapter Seven, the Continuation Years, describes the continuous development of the Experimental Schools project in spite of frustrations of uneven success, unanticipated snags, power struggles within the schools, and mounting public opposition to school systems, both locally and statewide.

Chapter Eight, The Final Year, describes the simultaneous winding down of the Experimental Schools project and the climaxing of public opposition to the school system. This chapter, written before the 1978 taxpayers' revolt in California, describes a taxpayers' revolt in Oregon from the close-up perspective of one school district. The reader is left to decide for himself whether, given the many concerns forced upon educators, the South Umpqua Experimental Schools project was worth the effort.

The final chapter, Summary and Interpretations, has two purposes: to present evidence contradicting the most obvious conclusions to be drawn from five years of description of school-community events, and to provide an alternative interpretation based on analysis of community and community change

in chapters two and three. Events of the previous five years had been perplexing and, I believe, often misunderstood at both the local and national levels. I conclude by trying to impose some order on the data by shifting questions from, "How does a school district implement planned educational change?" to "How does a community maintain a healthy educational environment?"

I will end this introduction with statements of two of my own prejudices. The first is that part of my definition of an anthropological fieldworker is someone who can describe all sides from a sympathetic point of view. Whenever temptation arose to describe some party to Experimental Schools as the "bad guys," I tried in some way to associate with that party. In every case I found their perspective to be reasonable. The second prejudice is a positive attraction to South Umpqua because of its friendly small-town social settings and pleasant physical environment. Both my wife and I were amazed at our good fortune in finding employment in such a desirable area. Although we did not realize it in 1973, we were participating in "the flight from the cities" which was only then beginning to gather momentum nationally. Without intending to, we both contributed slightly to a major dynamic which was greatly to affect the outcome of the Experimental Schools project in South Umpqua.

CHAPTER ONE, DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY

The South Umpqua Consolidated School District No. 19 is situated in one of what promoters call "the thousand valleys of the Umpqua" in south central Douglas County, Oregon (Figure 1). The high school is separated by a low fence from Interstate 5, the main north-south highway of the three Pacific states. A driver might at first mistake the flat-roofed structure for a modern factory or office complex. As he passes, the portrait of a knight charging on the label "Lancers" and the sight of athletes practicing nearby indicate the building's purpose. The opposite side of the highway is dominated by bright green irrigated sheep pasture, plus an occasional old farm house. One of the few remaining prune orchards in the area is just to the north. Heavily forested hills rise steeply out of the flat valley in all directions.

DEMOGRAPHY

Douglas County is the northernmost of five counties which make up the southwest quadrant of Oregon. The area is characterized by small population and wide economic "boom and bust" swings beginning as far back as the gold rush era of the 1850's. The county lines coincide almost exactly with the watershed area of the Umpqua River. The result is a pear-shaped county with a small ocean port at the "stem." Small flat-bottomed valleys occur where tributaries of the Umpqua join. Since there are few such mergings downriver or near the headwaters, the valleys lie roughly north and south of each other, providing a natural transportation route through the center of the county. Seen from a low-flying airplane, the area appears as a beadlike chain of bright green areas with conical forested hills stretching as far as the eye can see to the east and west.

Douglas County is 5,089 square miles in area and has a population of 81,600 (Oregon Blue Book, 1977-78). County population jumped 112% between 1940 and 1950 and has been growing by 4.9% a year since (ibid.). Roseburg, the county seat, has a population of 16,950. The other 11 incorporated towns in the county range from 185 to 4,450 in population.

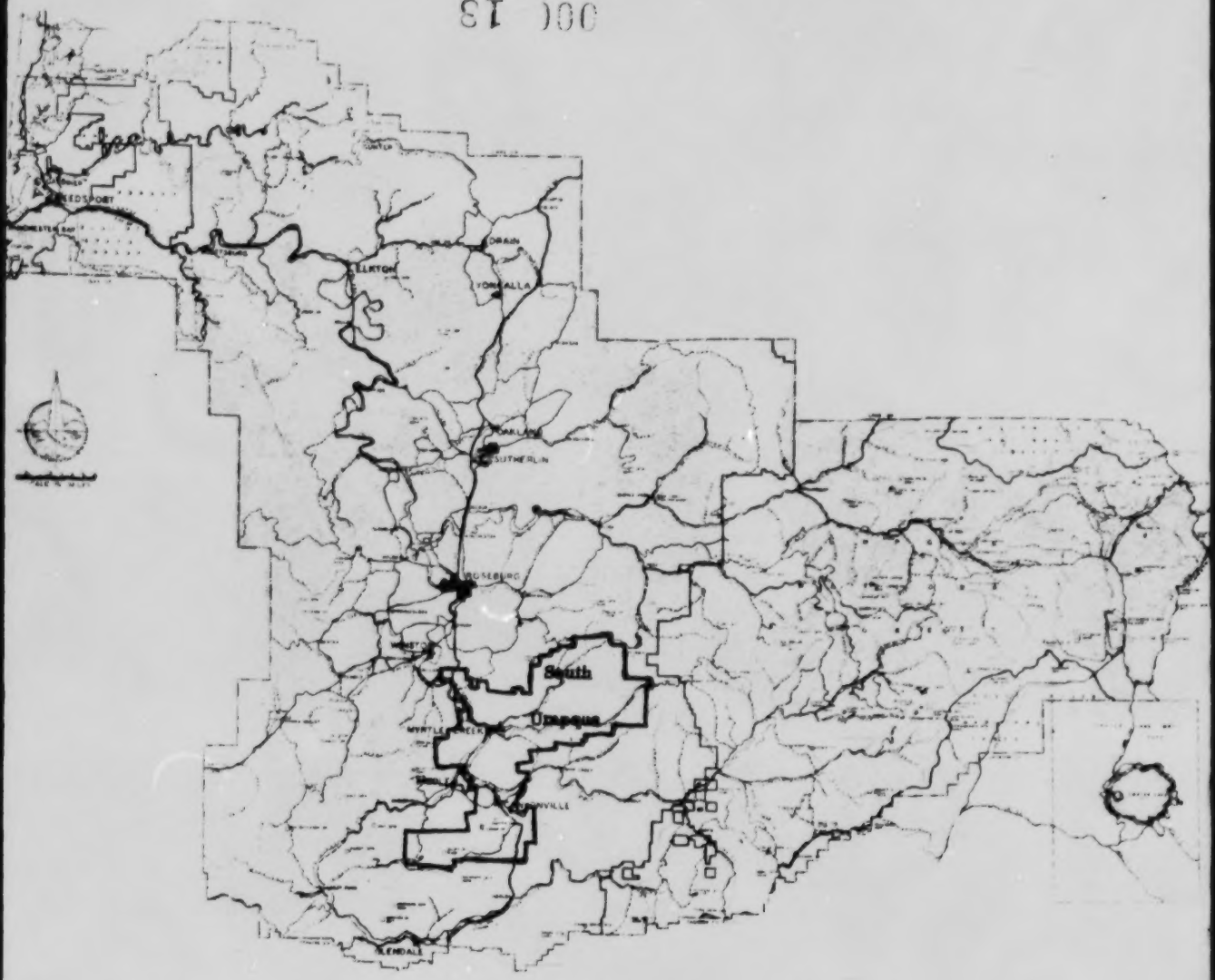

Fig. 1. Map of Douglas County, Oregon, and the South Umpqua School District.

Elevation ranges from sea level to 9,173 feet. Ninety percent of the county is timberland, of which 57% is owned by the federal government, 29% by lumber companies, and 14% by others. Five percent of the forest reserves of the nation, including 20% of the nation's virgin forest, are in the county. The nation's only remaining stands of virgin Douglas fir lie a few miles west of Myrtle Creek.

Commercial hunting ended in 1911 when Oregon passed what was then considered to be an outrageously restrictive limitation of five deer per hunter per year, but take of deer, elk, pheasant, salmon, steelhead, and rainbow trout is still rewarding. Old-timers can recall great summer runs of sliver salmon, native wild grass growing taller than a man's head, open stream banks which are now overgrown with blackberry vines, and deep fishing holes now filled in as a result of gravel erosion. As recently as the 1960's, deer hunters often bypassed spikes, anticipating a four to eight point buck. To a newcomer the impression is that of unscarred wilderness, with clear water splashing over native bedrock, and an abundance of streamside pull-offs along paved roads where families can picnic in solitude.

According to a survey printed in the Roseburg News-Review (Nov. 22, 1976:1), timber produces provide 63% of the county's income. Other sources are manufacturing exports, 11.3%, and recreation, 5.2%, while agriculture provides 2.1%. Average family income in 1975 was $10,900, compared with $13,800 for the nation. Principal wage earners provide 60% of normal family income, retirement and social security benefits rank second with 25% income, while a second family income, normally that of a working wife, provides only 7.5% The timber industry accounts for 30% of all family income.

It has long been anticipated that the forestry base would provide for economic expansion through the 1970's, but that employment in that sector would then decline for the rest of the twentieth century (Douglas Co. Planning Comm., 1968:22). Stumpage, the price mills pay for unlogged timber, has risen from about 50 cents per 1,000 board feet in the 1940's to $40 in the 1960's to often over $140 in the 1970's. Helicopter logging has become profitable in remote or ecologically sensitive areas. The technology and economics of thinning second growth of trees, which are

about to be crowded out anyway, have increased yields beyond what earlier cautious predictions had indicated. Virtually all mill owners now agree, however, that mill capacity in terms of log supply has been reached (Stevens, Pierson, and Ervin, 1975).

Environmentalist pressures to ban clear cutting, mandate stream shade forest, and create wilderness areas are a controversial subject both locally and nationally. Future areas of economic development are not agreed upon, and potentials lie in somewhat conflicting directions.

Douglas County is also rich in minerals. The nation's only nickel mine and smelter stand four miles southwest of the town of Riddle. Gold, silver, copper, mercury, and chrome mining have been economically important in the past. Zinc, once an unwanted contaminant that the copper mines gave to the smelter, now sells for 30 cents a pound and may make reopening of old mines profitable.

Construction of the controversial Days Creek Dam would open 22,500 acres of flood plain for development, but would submerge 4,720 acres of now scenic canyon valley (Days Creek Lake Project, 1972:1-1). Douglas County was seriously considered as a site for an atomic power generating plant from 1973 to 1975. Plans were postponed indefinitely until more information on possible earthquake damage could be specified. It was said that the power plan in itself would double the county tax base, but the desirability of such a development was much debated.

Other potentials for Douglas County are in the area of "human" or "environmental" development. Immigration has continued throughout the lumber recession of the 1960's, bringing new residents of all types: young people, families, retired citizens. An overwhelmingly frequent response of both newcomers and lifelong residents is open satisfaction with both their social and geographical environment. Many residents accept reduced income when moving to the area. This adjustment may take the form of starting over again, as in opening a small retail or repair business, or of "dropping out" of highly demanding careers.

The sense of the great outdoors, which is one of the attractions of the area, does not guarantee against overcrowding, real estate inflation, or rising per capita taxation. The limited area available for

development is being sought by industry, agriculture, and residential users. Agriculture, once the mainstay of the economy, is now confined to 1,922 farms using 528,304 acres, mostly flood plain or areas where well water is unavailable. The burgeoning of industry in some areas has a paradoxical consequence; it makes the goal of "keeping our town small" realistic by providing substantial taxes.

A recent housing survey by the Umpqua Regional Council of Governments for the central part of the county may be used with caution as an example of trends in the more developed parts of the county as a whole. The number of households in central Douglas County increased from 12,241 in 1970 to 14,467 in 1976. Substantial income and substantial home valuation have become the norm for the first time, as shown in Table 1.

South Umpqua

The South Umpqua Consolidated School District No. 19 occupies approximately two-thirds of a valley surrounding the juncture of the South Umpqua River and Cow Creek, plus large sections of rugged hinterlands up North and South Myrtle Creeks. The Riddle School District occupies the remainder of South Umpqua Valley. The extensive but thinly populated Days Creek-Tiller School District occupies the hinterlands drained by the South Umpqua River.

Interstate Highway 5, which passes through the school district, places its residents within one and a half hour's comfortable drive of the University of Oregon in Eugene to the north and the Oregon Shakespearian Festival to the south. Travel to the Pacific coast, only 40 miles west, requires more than two hours' driving time along a scenic but twisting highway. Two highways in the county lead east through the mountains to Crater Lake National Park.

South Umpqua school district had a population of 8,038 in 1970. Since then a growing number of households has been roughly balanced by declining family size, with the result that the obvious building activity in the area has resulted in only a gradual increase in total population. The district is divided into four voting districts: Canyonville, Tri-City, Myrtle Creek, and Myrtle Creek rural.

For a variety of reasons industry has settled in the Riddle

Table 1

Household Income and Home Valuation in Central Douglas County for 1970 and 1976

Household Income Category	Percentage of Households		Home Valuation Category	Percentage of Homes	
	1970	1976		1970	1976
$0-5,000	17.3%	6.9%	$0-5,000	3.7%	1.2%
5,000-10,000	42.4%	18.7%	5,000-7,500	11.0%	1.6%
10,000-15,000	29.5%	32.3%	7,500-10,000	12.6%	3.0%
15,000-25,000	7.5%	31.3%	10,000-15,000	32.2%	8.0%
25,000-50,000	3.4%	9.8%	15,000-20,000	21.9%	12.1%
50,000 +	.3%	1.1%	20,000 +	18.2%	74.1%

Source: Umpqua Regional Council of Governments: 1976.

school district, while residential and shopping areas have developed in South Umpqua. Green Valley Lumber Company in Myrtle Creek and a small amount of taxable timber provide the only industrial tax support for the district. Most laborers and salaried people from South Umpqua work in other school districts. The public school system is the largest employer within the district.

The school system is divided into three administrative districts, the boundaries of which are shifted periodically to maintain even classroom loads. The school's physical plant consists of an administrative complex, one high school and a grade school in Tri-City, an elementary and a junior high school in Myrtle Creek, and a campus-like complex of structures housing grades one through eight in Canyonville.

In organizational structure, a superintendent, vice-superintendent, director of federal programs, and a business manager are to be found at the administrative complex in Tri-City. Individual schools are administered by a high school principal and a vice principal, a grade school principal at Myrtle Creek and another at Tri-City, a principal and vice principal at Myrtle Creek junior high, and a principal at Canyonville who is responsible for both "Hilltop School," next to I-5, and the "Lower School" down by Canyon Creek.

The passage of the postwar baby boom through the school system has created crowded conditions at the high school and open space in the lower elementary grades. The school population, taken as a whole, has remained fairly steady during the 1970's at about 2,500 students, with 750 in the high school.

South Umpqua is the poorest school district in the state in terms of per pupil tax resources. Both newcomers and old-timers often find this item hard to believe, as the commonly thought-of signs of an underfinanced school system, such as unkempt grounds, dog-eared textbooks, and sketchy lunches, are absent. Per pupil cost was $857.75 in the 1971-72 school year before participation in ES.

HISTORY

The Umpqua Indians inadvertently prepared the way for future white intrusion by burning off the grass in the valleys as part of harvesting

tarweed seed for food. In consequence the valleys remained free of the thicket and underbrush which might otherwise have discouraged newcomers. The fragility of the man-land relationship can be seen from the fact that when explorers passed through during the grass burning, their horses starved and vital landmarks could not be seen through the smoke (Dillon, 1975:123-125). If the newcomers arrived at the height of the season, the valleys "appeared as a great field of wheat" (Riddle, 1953:51). In other words, the land most used by the Indians was also attractive both to those whites who would pass through to the north or south and to those who would settle.

The British Hudson's Bay parties penetrated this land in the 1820's, driven by dual orders from company headquarters to search for a rumored "great river" south of the Columbia and to trap beavers before the area became attractive to American expansionists (Dillon, 1975:23). By 1833 the trappers had pieced together the Siskiyou Trail to California. This trail was later the route of the first major cattle drive in the United States. Today the Southern Pacific Railroad, a gas pipeline, a television cable, a power transmission line, and Interstate Highway 5 lie parallel within a few miles of each other along the same route.

"Oregon fever" gripped the nation as missionaries to the Indians brought back stories of rich land free for the taking. In 1845 an estimated 3,000 immigrants made the journey to the Willamette valley, a region then still disputed between Britain and the United States. The American settlers chose Lindsay and Jessie Applegate to scout a southern immigration route around the Hudson Bay Forts (Carey, 1971:296-98). The resulting Applegate Trail, or south branch of the Oregon Trail, left the old route at what is now Laramie, Wyoming, looped through northern Nevada and California, then came north along the Siskiyou route. The first immigration train entered southern Oregon in 1846. Five years later, Canyonville was founded as the first rest stop after the most difficult ten miles of trail and as a preparation point before beginning the dreaded Canyon Passage to the south.

Part of the rush to Oregon was the result of the United States' decision to strengthen its claim against that of the British by offering generous land donations to American settlers. Every white settler over 18

who was a United States citizen and a resident of the territory before 1850 was eligible to receive 320 acres of land, if single, and 640 acres, if married. The land was free and was granted on the condition that it be lived upon for four years. That free land was indeed an attraction is seen by the intense pressure on daughters of immigrants to marry young, "their wedding gowns often being their first long dresses" (Bakken, 1970:13-14).

Farmers often sought out neighbors with whom they could get along rather than leave to chance who might move in nearby. Ranchers, in contrast, sought out isolated valleys with abundant "open land," unclaimed grassland where their stock could graze undisturbed. One consequence of the settlement pattern was that the entire area was settled almost simultaneously, and what are now some of the more remote areas, such as Tiller and Shoestring Valley, were among the first settled. Another consequence was that late comers (the gold miners and the Chinese coolies who worked their mine tailings after them) had to move on eventually. The land was filled, and the first settlers and their descendents dominated social life for nearly a century. Still another consequence of the settlement pattern is that wagon roads to remote valleys eventually became county roads, then blacktop rural routes. Thus, communities grew in a "spiderweb" pattern as homes were constructed along a complex network of already existing rural roads rather than in an "onion ring" pattern close to town as roads were slowly expanded.

The California Gold Rush quickly spread north with strikes at Jacksonville, Sailer's Creek, and Althouse in southern Oregon, and on Coffee, Starveout, Quines, and Humbug creeks in what is now southern Douglas County. A new supply route to the mines was established with difficulty up the Umpqua River, then the South Umpqua, then Canyon Passage. Canyonville, founded in 1851, thrived on the new commerce in liquor, tobacco, and overalls. Myrtle Creek began as a boarding stop in 1853. In spite of gold strikes to the south and east, the South Umpqua valley retained a basically agricultural economy, with a large market for its produce.

The first economic slump had hit the area by the end of the Civil War. Gold strikes in Idaho and British Columbia lured away the

free-spending miners, who were replaced by frugal Chinese. The troops were gone, and so were the Indians. Farmers, who had once seen flour hauled from the Willamette Valley past the local grist mill to the mines, now packed hams through a hundred miles of the Willamette Valley, one of the richest agricultural areas on earth, for sale in Portland.

Minor sources of income and a genius for improvising prevented real hardship. Cattle and sheep were a continuing source of income. Some farmers mined gold at least seasonally or "pocket hunted" for isolated deposits. Representatives of eastern glove manufacturers toured the stores in the area purchasing deer skins brought in by professional hunters, or "pelters." Venison jerky sold well on the Portland market and, when demand outran supply, goat jerky was sold as venison. Farmers grew what their families and neighbors needed and sold any surplus at low prices. Both written and oral accounts stress the abundance of food, as well as both the lack of money and the lack of need for it (Riddle, 1953; Riddle, 1954; Cornutt, 1971; WPA, 1938-39).

The coming of the Oregon and California railway was delayed by financial and engineering difficulties. The 40-mile stretch between Riddle and Grants Pass took longer to build than the remaining 1,000 miles between Portland and San Francisco. By the time the line was finished in 1887, farmers had already begun experimenting with wheat, hops, and other cash crops. By far the most successful experiment was the discovery by a man named Evans that the soil and climate were ideal for growing prunes. Charles Kirk, who arrived in 1889, recalled that there were only a few small orchards in the valley at the time, then the area went "prune wild" (WPA, 1938). This one-crop economy was to shape social life in South Umpqua valley for two generations. As recently as the 1940's, if the prune harvest was late, the opening of school was delayed so that the children could help with the picking.

By the turn of the century the prune-based economy was so fundamental that some elderly residents today suppose it dated from the time of the Civil War, or that it had always been there. Myrtle Creek, Canyonville, and Riddle were typical, prosperous, agricultural towns, with broad sidewalks, Fourth of July parades, Masonic lodges, town bands, and a social life centering around large family picnics. Agricultural prosperity

attracted bankers, journalists, educators, mechanics, and other specialists, but social life continued to be dominated by land-owning pioneers and their immediate descendents. What is now Tri-City was then a series of prune orchards plus a one-room school house known as Missouri Bottoms. North and South Myrtle Creek areas were a series of country stores and one-room schools. During peak economic years orchard owners refused $1,000 an acre for their land, noting that the profit from prunes was higher than alternative investments.

The fondly remembered years of agricultural prosperity came to an end in 1919 when the price of prunes dropped from 16 cents to 2 cents a pound. For years the Myrtle Creek Mail encouraged farmers to diversify, by describing the good profits being made in strawberries, turkeys, and winter cauliflower.

Promoters of the area were of two minds about the great forest resources of the area. On the one hand, the Myrtle Creek Mail severely scolded the Forest Service for not allowing the expansion of sheep pasture through issuing of burning permits. On the other hand, forestry was seen as the industry of the future:

> While the Myrtle Creek country is destined to be a great lumber center--the key city through which billions of feet of standing fir, pine, and cedar timber will eventually pass to the world--those who would seek a home here, for the present, would have to look to some other source for a livelihood (Mail, November 25, 1921).

Stelzier Box and Woodworking Factory opened in Myrtle Creek in 1923 to supply the local market for packing crates and fencing materials. The Canyonville Bible School and Orphanage (now Canyonville Bible Academy) was established in 1924, making that town a center for evangelical camp meetings during the summer. In general, however, vigorous attempts to attract new industry had limited success, and the area experienced only marginal growth during the 1920's. "The ruinous prune situation during the past several years is what has contributed largely to bringing people to the verge of bankruptcy" (Mail, November 27, 1925).

The depression of the 1930s dealt the area another economic blow as wages for county highway crews dropped from $5.00 to $1.50 per day, and the work week shrank from five to three days. Small scale gold mining,

fighting forest fires, and WPA work provided some sources of income. The traditional attitudes of making do and mutual helpfulness warded off many tragedies. Old timers recall that during the depression money was needed for clothing and taxes but little else, and that "If you could make it through Christmas, you could make it through the year." For all the hardships, South Umpqua Valley actually attracted outsiders who came to live off the land.

Quite a few residents left for temporary work in the shipyards at the beginning of World War II. Ironically, when the long sought industrialization finally began on an emergency wartime crash basis, labor had to be imported from Washington state. In 1944 great "cold decks" of hastily cured pilings appeared at the railroad loading stations. In 1945, Sunny Lumber Company built a large plywood mill near Riddle, and Fir Manufacturing Company (Firmco, later Umpqua) an even larger one in Myrtle Creek. Firmco employed between 175 and 200 mill workers and loggers, and had a capacity of 150,000 board feet per eight hour shift. Both mills were intended to supply plywood for military packing crates.

Demobilization of the armed forces and the postwar building boom brought on the most active surge of economic expansion in the area since the gold rush days. The number of mills in Douglas County increased from 54 in 1940 to 138 in 1949. These ranged from substantial operations built on a company town model, with baseball teams and company housing, to owner-operated one blade mills powered by Chevrolet engines. Mills worked double and triple shifts, and population doubled rapidly (Table 2).

New residents included merchants from all over the United States, some of whom had toured the nation after the war looking for a place to locate. Some loggers moved in from Washington state or other traditional logging country. Quite a few mill workers came in from Oklahoma or other areas hit by the Depression, often after a soujourn in California. Stories are told of settlements of cabins built from free scrap lumber near the mills, where refugees from the dust bowl saved their wages and sent for their kin, who then pooled their savings and sent for still more kin. Most of the local residents who left for war-time employment returned. Some set up logging and/or milling operations on their family ranches. Some subdivided their prune orchards for residential building. Tri-City

Table 2

Population of Douglas County, Myrtle Creek and Canyonville in 1940 and 1950

Areal Unit	Population	
	1940	1950
Douglas County	25,728	54,549
Myrtle Creek	441	1,781
Canyonville	255	861

Source: Douglas County Planning Commission, 1968:61, 64.

developed along old U.S. Highway 99 during this period.

Many families lived in tents for more than a year. Some families built garages after work and lived in them with their families while building homes. Some built on what turned out to be flood plain. Septic tanks contaminated well water. A great many civic committees were formed, and a great many meetings were held.

Some residents who moved into the area after the war recall the towns with nostalgia and describe them with great exaggeration as tough mill towns where "we didn't need television because we could always go out on the front porch and watch a fight." Examination of the records and detailed interviews suggest a strong family orientation and a sense of civic commitment. These commitments were expressed in numerous petitions for improved water, sewer, and other facilities, fund-raising activities for a swimming pool in Myrtle Creek after children had drowned in the South Umpqua River, and drives for new schools.

For nearly five years students in Myrtle Creek went to school half days. Classes were taught in the gym, the Grange Hall, and the basement of the Christian Church. Quite a few parents, unable to find housing, moved out during the school year. One grade school teacher remembers having taught 90 students in a single year. Canyonville, which was not a mill town, was less heavily impacted, but classes were taught in the gym, with the fifth grade facing one wall, the sixth grade the opposite. Five school buildings were built in Myrtle Creek, Tri-City, and Canyonville between 1951 and 1955, in spite of the fact that lumber prices were dropping, and mills were closing or reducing shifts.

On February 24, 1955, the Mail's banner headlines read:

UMPQUA QUITS LOCAL PLYWOOD
Terminate 359 Workers; Will
Keep On Operating Sawmill

Within a year the sawmill section had also closed, taking another 120 jobs. Many families were forced to leave the valley. Those who remained had to assume the tax load of paying for newly installed facilities. Many families, unable to sell their homes for as much as they paid for them, took lower paying or insecure employment or commuted more than 50 miles a day to distant mills.

Hanna Mining Company, which was just coming into full production, absorbed some of the unemployed at reasonable wages. The valley's traditional function as a north-south communications link provided stop-gap employment during the construction of Interstate Highway 5, a gas pipeline, and a coaxial cable. Welfare recipients moved into the area to take advantage of abundant low cost housing.

Today, when old-timers hear glowing predictions of economic growth, they sometimes recall postwar experts' projections that Myrtle Creek, Canyonville, and Riddle would soon merge into one metropolitan area. Predictions that the school systems would also merge were put into different perspective by the shift in the economic base.

THE SCHOOLS

Myrtle Creek and Canyonville school districts began absorbing one-room schools with the consolidation of Myrtle Creek and Missouri Bottoms in 1928. There was a large scale expansion into remote rural areas during and shortly after World War II. An attempt to consolidate the Myrtle Creek, Riddle, Days Creek, and Canyonville school districts failed in 1960, when Riddle voted down the measure decisively. In 1963 an attempt to consolidate the remaining three districts was voted down by Days Creek. On January 21, 1964, Myrtle Creek and Canyonville went to the polls again to decide whether to consolidate their two districts.

The advantages as reported by the Mail would include: more equitable taxes in the area; an escape valve for overcrowded classes; an increase in both college preparatory and vocational offerings by the high school; and possibly the inclusion of special consultants in various fields and classes in special education for the mentally retarded. The disadvantages were listed as being in the areas of transportation and cafeteria service (Mail, January 6, 1964).

The vote was held during a snowstorm, and many outlying rural residents could not get to the polls. The consolidation measure carried easily in Canyonville, but passed by only 201 to 193 votes in Myrtle Creek. Although the resulting merger was legal, persons responsible for carrying it out still recall that they did not feel they had a mandate from the voters.

The consolidation issue continued to be controversial, as evidenced by the heavy voter turnouts and the large number of citizens who ran for positions on the new school board. Eight hundred sixteen votes were cast for 20 candidates. Six out of seven of the persons elected were members of the previous school boards, which had favored consolidation. Later in the same year the polls recorded a 43% turnout on a $1,250,000 bond issue for a new high school to be built in Tri-City; the issue was passed over the objections of many Myrtle Creek residents.

Other issues that were an outcome of consolidation concerned the reorganization of school staff, especially the reassignment of coaching positions. A Myrtle Creek principal read his protest letter of resignation before an overflow audience at a school board meeting. Similarly, a citizens' petition for a special recall election of two board members (the most allowed by law) easily exceeded the 10% required to put it on the ballot.

The recall motion was voted down by more than a two-to-one margin in the heaviest vote recorded in the district for the next ten years. The school budget passed by a much smaller margin on the same ballot. Many voters marked their preferences on the recall, but left the budget decision blank as a way of expressing their dissatisfaction.

The issue of the budget gradually replaced the problems of consolidation as a center of controversy. The Mail increasingly carried articles on teachers' salaries, both because they were becoming more controversial and because the public was relying more on the media, rather than face-to-face contact, to understand school business.

The 1966 budget of $1,581,971 passed easily, with the largest item, teachers' salaries, totaling $720,352. The 1967 budget, increased by $87,000 due to higher costs of instruction, was voted down heavily. Objections apparently focused on several items: purchase of property, purchase of equipment to provide educational television (which would be largely financed by federal funds), salaries of school personnel (especially teachers and administrators), and the addition of teachers when the school population had decreased (Mail, March 23, 1967). The budget was chopped $28,000 and passed by six votes on the second try.

It was clear that the school program lacked strong support. The

superintendent announced his plans to resign at the end of the 1967-68 school year. During that year the state accreditation committee complimented the school district on the progress it was making in the establishment of libraries in every building, curriculum improvements, and the provision of a new special education program, but called attention to the need for long range planning and upgrading gymnasium facilities. The implication was that increased expenditures were needed to insure continued accreditation.

The next school budget, which had been cut $32,000 from the administration's figure of $1,800,000, was defeated by 123 votes with less than 12% voter turnout. The school board, which considered that the budget was minimal and the vote was not representative of the majority, resubmitted the budget to the people untrimmed. The superintendent announced that non-certified personnel would be terminated if the budget failed. The Mail reported heavily attended meetings asking for cooperation in working out school problems. A paid advertisement urged voters to approve the budget, and stressed that South Umpqua had the lowest per pupil expenditure in the county. This time 65% of the voters went to the polls, slamming down the budget in every precinct. Forty-six voters handed in unmarked ballots to protest school policy.

The Mail reported that the budget was "clawed apart" amid "cries of anguish." A sum of $65,000 was deleted from allocations for teachers' salaries, physical exams, vocational education, teaching supplies, textbooks, maintenance, insurance, remodeling, and instruction. On July 1, 1968, the revised levy passed 595 to 398.

A new superintendent officially assumed his duties on the same day the budget was passed. He was faced with a situation in which directives of the state accreditation committee and those of the local voters pointed in exactly opposite directions, and each carried the weight of the law. According to those who remember interviewing him, the new superintendent was directed by the school board to accomplish four goals: upgrade the faculty, improve the curriculum, obtain federal funds, and build a new cafeteria.

Teachers and administrators agree that the following four years were ones of forced pace change. The State Board of Education was asked

to inventory the school district and to provide a needs assessment. The high school was departmentalized, and its mathematics and science programs were merged. Curriculum changes were made at all grade levels. Teachers recall that "there were committees all over the place." Administrators were recruited, some from national or state positions, some taking cuts in salary to move to South Umpqua. An administrative complex was built. The positions of Federal Programs Director and District Evaluator were created. Federally funded preschool and aid to disadvantaged programs were initiated. Faculty turnover was high.

Teaching credentials improved from 50% of the faculty being on emergency certification to two individuals (this number has since dropped to zero). The number of teachers holding master's degrees rose to 50 out of 180. The physical education department turned out champion teams regularly, with one team or another going to state finals every year. South Umpqua was the smallest district in Oregon to send business education clubs to the state Chamber of Commerce competitions, and regularly won the most prizes. Various music programs won state prizes. The high school dropout rate went from 28.3% in 1968 to 16.1% in 1972. The district received the highest accreditation ratings legally possible. Every school budget passed on the first vote.

These changes occurred under conditions permissive of change. The school board, which had seen the district through consolidation and had hired the superintendent, remained in office. They maintained the public was periodically faced with the dilemma of voting itself higher taxes or facing declining services and quite possibly state intervention.

SUMMARY

The communities of south Douglas County have had a highly cyclical economic history in which the population has demonstrated a considerable ability to adapt to the changing conditions of the outside marketplace. Part of the sense of continuity which one senses today is conveyed by individuals who have personally gone through boom and bust cycles, and who have individually adapted to new opportunities without rejecting the values of the past. Descendants of the pioneers have become prosperous land owners, merchants, and leading citizens, while still advocating the

honesty and small town friendliness of their agricultural past. The heterogeneous population which came into the area during the hectic boom years of the 1940's today perceives the triumph of small town values as a considerable accomplishment. The area is experiencing another period of population growth during the 1970's, also caused by immigration of a heterogeneous population which will face problems of adjustment similar to those of earlier newcomers.

The Pulitzer prize-winning novelist H.L. Davis describes the earliest settlers in the area as "different from each other as different suits in a deck of cards" (1935:2), but able to endure hard times without real suffering and benefit from good times without change of life style. This adjustment proved to be realistic, and was applied to later periods in the area's history also. (For a more detailed account of the history, see Hennigh, 1975).

South Umpqua is a school district composed of several communities joined together as a result of historical circumstances which might have, had they been slightly different, resulted in a larger or smaller, richer or poorer, district today. The federal Experimental Schools program did not initiate or contradict major social changes in the district. Rather, it coincided with a rise in lumber prices and a shift in American values in favor of a rural lifestyle, both of which affected the size and heterogeneity of the population of South Umpqua. These changes were to have their effects on the South Umpqua ES project. Experimental Schools did not initiate or shift the direction of changes in the schools, but continued an already existing effort of planned educational change.

CHAPTER TWO, THE SOCIAL SETTING

When a driver pulls off the freeway on any of the ramps leading to Canyonville, Tri-City, or Myrtle Creek, he will see broad streets, abundant parking space, and uncrowded sidewalks where a few individuals are proceeding at an unhurried pace. There are distinctive scenes which give the towns character. Heavily loaded log trucks and lumber carriers called "daddy-longlegs" use the main streets of towns. Unshaven loggers in their work clothes stop at corners and chat with friends. Cheerful clerks end each sale with the advice, "Have a nice day." If a store does not have a requested item such as a brand name of pipe tobacco, the clerk offers to have it in stock within three days. These favorable first impressions do not go away with time.

Visitors often hesitate before pulling back onto the freeway. When I first toured the schools in February of 1973, three of the five principals spontaneously remarked they had one problem I wouldn't expect: that of new students who arrive during the school year. As one principal put it, "Just yesterday I had a family with three children in my office. They pulled off the freeway, rented a motel room, and registered their children in school. The father doesn't have a job, they don't have a home. I don't have any idea if they will be here next month."

A brief introduction will be given to each community in terms of voting districts.

CANYONVILLE

Canyonville, a town of 1,100 population, is bisected by Interstate 5, making it one of the more convenient "pull-off" points for gasoline and restaurant meals between the Willamette and Sacramento Valleys. It is also a turn-off point to Crater Lake National Park, 100 miles east. A six-story senior residence, two parochial schools, and a county-owned park with abundant camper-trailer facilities provide the economy with a

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service industry base. Commerce is characterized by small owner-operated stores and repair services. Of about 30 merchants, approximately two-thirds have lived in the area less than ten years, reflecting both an economic expansion following the growth of the mills in Riddle and a high turnover in lightly financed semi-hobby or semi-retirement shops.

Technically, one cannot go from Canyonville to other towns in the school district without driving through the Riddle school district. This is merely a fluke of district boundaries being drawn across an uninhabited stretch of I-5, but social interaction between the populations of Canyonville, Riddle, and Days Creek does appear to be more frequent than between Canyonville and others in the school district.

One extremely knowledgeable resident described Canyonville this way:

> "Canyonville is a nice little town, main street sixty feet wide. It was platted that way in 1860 when most towns had narrow streets. We were lucky, we never had to tear down and rebuild when changes came. It won't last forever. Some day we will be just another Los Angeles, but so far we have been able to keep the town the way we like it.
>
> Oh, we have our pros and cons, but we don't have cliques. Everything is settled right out in the open. A lot of new people settle here every year, and it takes a while to educate them to what Canyonville is like."

Canyonville is the most reliable "yes" voter on school budgets. One reason residents give for this support is good citizenship.

TRI-CITY

Tri-City is an expansive suburb-like unincorporated area between Canyonville and Myrtle Creek. The area developed after World War II on what had been prune orchards. It is easy to trace the boundaries of subdivided former farms by glancing at a Tri-City sewer map. The area's development has not been hemmed in by zoning restrictions. Homes along "old 99," the former interstate highway, include handsome old farm houses, trailers, and owner-built houses of various types. Businesses include a drive-in theater, a bowling alley, a large truck repair shop, a gravel loading station, and small, rural-oriented businesses such as

John's Country Store and Kountry Kitchen. In 1973 many of the streets off Highway 99 were county-owned mud strips with axle deep ruts. With the construction of substantial homes in the hills overlooking Tri-City, county highway maintenance improved. Most of the residents work outside of Tri-City, and many of the people who work there use its commercial facilities or worship in its churches and are from other towns.

In addition to county police protection, regulatory bodies consist of a tax-supported volunteer fire department and publicly elected water and sewer committees. Members are often merchants serving Tri-City itself. The district high school and administrative complex are located in Tri-City to take advantage of its central location, as is the Tri-City elementary school.

One long-time resident described the system this way: "You can keep a horse in Tri-City. You can park a trailer. You don't have to ask anybody's permission to live the way you want to . . . We pay higher taxes than they do in Myrtle Creek. . . . We pay higher taxes for the privilege of being left alone."

This attitude should not be confused with indifference. Many residents of Tri-City combine the advantages of remaining unincorporated with civic responsibility. As one long time resident put it, "I'll always live in Tri-City. Once a year the neighbors get together and have a road mending party. That's all that ever happens." The individual was active in civic organizations and local branches of nationally chartered fraternities.

I once attended a local meeting in Tri-City concerning sewer construction. Members of the sewer committee of an engineering firm were seated on the stage. About 70 mostly angry residents were in the audience. The committee chairman and the engineer calmly answered a barrage of questions, in spite of accusations from the floor that one or another was a "liar," "cheat," and "criminal." Each member of the sewer committee was a Tri-City merchant, none of whom, to my knowledge, lost customers as a result of his civic stance. Max Gluckman has drawn attention to how often it is noted in the literature that vitriolic charges do not result in divisiveness but have the opposite effect. He concludes that people slander only those who are important to them. Scandal directed toward

the in-group identifies that group, thereby defending it against a larger threatening society (Gluckman, 1964).

That residents are basically satisfied with conditions in Tri-City is suggested by a minor demographic problem for the grade school. Parents do not move out after their children are grown, and so new families with children who want to move in are forced to settle elsewhere.

Tri-City usually provides the school district with a small margin of "yes" votes.

MYRTLE CREEK

Myrtle Creek, with a growing population of slightly over 3,000, is the largest and most urban of the four voting precincts. Three banks, two automobile distributorships, small department stores, and regional headquarters for Pacific Power and Light and California Pacific Telephone make it the financial and distribution center for southern Douglas County. The city has had its economic and demographic ups and downs. Stores along the west side of Main Street do not have back doors because they once adjoined a large lumber mill. The area, now vacant, is intended for a large park. As one prominent citizen describes the city's past, "I can remember when there were a lot of people here who did not call Myrtle Creek home. Home was wherever they came from and the day they reached retirement age, they were gone."

One part of the business community is characterized by branch office managers who are periodically transferred as home office personnel needs change. They dress immaculately in suits and ties, have manners which would make them acceptable in any town in the United States, and are often seen together. Branch managers spend a great deal of time on park committees, library committees, and myriad other civic groups, as well as the Chamber of Commerce. Another part of the business community is characterized by owner-operated small businesses. Owners often work extremely long hours, cultivate acquaintances and thus customers, and refrain from taking public stances on controversial matters.

Formal government is provided by a city council made up of school teachers, log truck owners, small businessmen, and other public-minded

residents, assisted by a city manager and a city lawyer. The usual route to council membership is to become actively involved on the planning committee, sewer committee, volunteer fire department, or other public organization, to develop a close working relationship with city employees and councilmen, and to be asked to fill an upcoming vacancy.

Quite a few residents can explicitly describe the advantages of having a highly approachable city government. As one prominent resident described it,

> "People live here because they like it. We have all the advantages of a small town and all the advantages of a city. I can take you to the bridge right now and show you ten or fifteen cars parked on the other site. Those are for car pools. People park their cars across the bridge and ride to work in Roseburg. They could buy a house in Roseburg, but they want to live in Myrtle Creek. There is plenty of parking, you can find what you are looking for in the stores, and people leave you alone.
>
> "Last year the city council voted to pull out the parking meters. They were a good money maker and the city needed the income, but people didn't like the hassle. They didn't like to hassle with the police. They didn't like to hassle with the city, so out they came....
>
> "People don't want a city government they have to monitor. You've been to city council meetings and seen that there is almost nobody there. Maybe somebody asking for a zoning variance or something, but no crowds. That's the way people want it. If we had a highball city government we would have to keep an eye on it, and Myrtle Creek would not be as nice a place to live."

Myrtle Creek usually provides the swing vote in school budget elections.

MYRTLE CREEK RURAL

Myrtle Creek Rural precinct consists of a thinly inhabited scenic mountainous area, with homes built along North Myrtle and South Myrtle rural routes. There is no formal civic organization in the area, although many residents are active in veterans' organizations, the Lions Club, or whatever. The area was almost completely depopulated during World War II. In 1971 a mother tried to show her daughter the little village of Nugget,

where she was born, but was unable to locate even the site where the settlement had been. The area was rebuilt during the lumber boom, mostly by families having the capital to invest in sizable tracts of real estate. The area combines the advantages of scenic beauty and isolation with the convenience of shopping in Myrtle Creek three to fourteen miles away. The area is currently attracting retired military officers, semi-retired businessmen, loggers or log truck owners who would have to commute long distances no matter where they lived, and a few school teachers and others who make sacrifices to live where they want to. Some new residents build their own homes, not only because of the financial savings, but because of the greater attention to detail they can put into making the house exactly the way they want it. Some residents buy sizable tracts of land for the privilege of not having neighbors. If one takes the wide variation of attitudes into account, the following conversation might nevertheless be considered representative.

> "I bought this land from my father-in-law....If I knew what I was getting into I would have bought more. It used to be that if you owned an acre to build on, it was just like owning a mile, because the area was not built up.
>
> "People said don't build in North Myrtle, think of the inconvenience. Slides will block the road and you'll get snowed in, or a log truck will total you out on one of those curves, or the deer will eat your garden, or you'll never get a repairman out there when your stove breaks down, or a forest fire will destroy the property value. They said, 'Build in Myrtle Creek where housing is cheap and your children can walk to school'....
>
> "I suppose I could get five times what I paid for the land. That's counting the value of the house my wife and I built....
>
> "North Myrtle route is changing. In some ways it is changing for the better, and in some ways it's not as good. There are more people, so you can always flag somebody down in case of fire or accident, but the problem of vandalism is worse....
>
> "About the only thing I pay taxes for is law enforcement and schools. Every year my taxes go up and law enforcement goes down....When the school budget election comes around I ask the polling lady, 'Where do I go to vote no?'"

Myrtle Creek Rural precinct is usually discounted in advance as a potential supporter of the school budget.

SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The people who settle in southern Douglas County are highly favorable towards its physical environment, sometimes making sacrifices in their careers in order to live in an area which they consider to be one of natural beauty. One resident, for instance, settled in the area because he "like[d] the country." He continued,

> "I had a good job in Sacramento, but I got tired of it. I talked it over with my family, and we decided to look around before starting over. We spent six months touring California and Oregon. I got good job offers in Portland and Bend and San Bernardino, but when we finally talked it over, we decided on Douglas County. There's not much in my line here, but the country is great."

Newcomers also express the attitude that there is more social freedom in this area than in other towns. For example, one teacher was raised in a small town in Kansas:

> "where we were taught that there was only one way to do anything. You dressed in a certain way because that's the way it's right. You wore your hair like this because it looked nice. And everybody noticed if you did things a little bit differently. It took me a while to get used to not being watched after I came out there. But now Joe Long and I get along just fine."

The ideal of spontaneity in community organizations is highly valued. "Everybody jumps right in. Everybody speaks right out," a councilon the Canyonville planning committee explained. "Take this city hall," she continued, "it needed painting, so somebody donated a can of paint, and everybody pitched in, and the first thing you know, it was done. That's the way we are. Nobody bosses."

Disparaging remarks about the area are almost always phrased in terms of environmental, political, or social threats to the system. An individual might remark seriously, "I am worried about what it is going to be like for the next generation. All that clear-cutting, and highway construction changing the drainage patterns." Residents sometimes describe danger to the environment and danger caused by environmentalists in the same sentence. "After the Doe Creek fire, Flip Thomas nailed a sign to one of

the snags, 'This is where the Sierra Club would not allow a road.' Members had said that building fire control roads would damage the environment."

Governmental threats may be federal, state, county local. Again the danger is easily and sometimes emphatically stated. Once I attended a meeting of the Canyonville Breakfast Club, where candidates for public office were also present, in which a member complained of interference by a county inspector concerning the member's septic tank.

Social dangers may take several forms: These are discussed later in the section "Community Models." In general, residents refer to the inhabitants for many miles around as "good people" who "won't do you in." With the exceptions of "Californians," "hippies" and, on rare occasions, "welfare bums," there are no categories or clusterings of people who might be thought of as strange or objectionable because of attitudes. There are no "bad neighborhoods," "Cadillac rows," "tough areas," "better circles," or other terms of disassociation. The term "boondocks" may be used to describe remote areas, but it is as likely to have favorable as unfavorable connotations.

THE LEATHERSTOCKING MOTIF

Wanda Avila has pointed out the powerful influence of what she calls the "Leatherstocking motif" in American culture. The hero in this motif is so strong, capable, brave, and self-reliant that he does not need society. His only connection with the social world is that it needs him. The hero of this motif has frugal needs, which he easily satisfies. He is healthy in body, keen in observation, quick to learn, and content with social isolation. Avila carefully traces this ideal in American literature from Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales, through the various lone Western heroes to modern Super Fly. She argues convincingly that the literature did not produce the ideal, but the ideal resulted in the literature (Avila, 1973).

In South Umpqua examples of this idea of being able to take care of one's self, with a lot left over for others, take the form of families moving into the hills and living off the land without losing the respect of the community. More common examples would be the organization of the

Smoky Valley Gunfighters, a fast-draw and Western skit club, the Coon Hound Society, and the Black Powder Association. It is not uncommon for a teacher to be told that a student will be unavailable for a week-end field trip because his parents are taking him bear chasing, deer hunting, motorcycle hill climbing, or otherwise out into the wilderness.

It is apparent that a society cannot be based on a lack of social needs, but the ideal can be practical in several respects. Under most circumstances individuals are left to pursue their own interests while still being able to count on help when needed.

"Leatherstocking" values also pay off during times of natural disaster, such as the flood of 1973. Churches in the area were heated to accommodate the anticipated crowds of refugees, but none appeared. Families either took care of themselves, or were rescued by friends or strangers and were put up in private homes. The communities affected by the flood are said to have lost federal and Red Cross aid because they failed to demonstrate need. This story may be unusual, but it does suggest how the communities view themselves, and how they view the outside bureaucracy.

ORGANIZATIONS

The American people have been famous for more than a century as joiners and organizers. De Tocqueville's observations on the point in 1835 can be applied in full to South Umpqua during the 1970s:

> "Thus the most democratic country on the face of the earth is that in which men have, in our time, carried to the highest perfection the art of pursuing in common the object of their common desires, and have applied this new science to the greatest number of purposes" (1956:199).

The newcomer to South Umpqua is likely to be overwhelmed by the opportunity to join organizations. A garden club secretary once attempted to make a list of all the voluntary associations in the area and gave up at the enormity of the task. There are governmental organizations (graveyard committee, sewer committee, Experimental Schools Coordinating Council); civic organizations (Boy Scouts, Search and Rescue Patrol, Breakfast Club);

church organizations (Womens Aglow, Ladies' Aids, Ministerial Alliance); cultural organizations (garden clubs, book clubs, Historical Society); common interest groups (Fur Takers of America, John Birch Society, Veterans of Foreign Wars); business organizations (Chamber of Commerce, Lions, Grange); and avocational groups (Trail Riders, Gem and Mineral Club, Antique Automobile Club), to name only a few. The high school has 18 student organizations.

In the vast majority of cases, organizations appear to perform their traditional American function as extensions of personality (Lerner, 1957:630-638). That is, organizations are mediums in which individuals might act out their abilities, and are thus consistent with the ideal of self-reliance. With the exceptions of municipal organizations, such as the volunteer fire departments, most common interest groups recruit regionally, rather than locally, and so social life is often non-local.

In South Umpqua, stories are told of individuals whom responsible citizens "gave up trying to help," because "they kept coming back for more," and "tried to get away with things." At a more popular level, this attitude is part of the definition of the term "rat race," a symptom of cities where people "try to get away with things" because they do not know their victims. At a volunteer fireman's Christmas party, one member recalled, "I can remember when, if I got a licking in school, by the time I got home my parents knew about it." Another replied, "Yes, but at least we're not rat racy."

COMMUNITY MODELS

With due respect for variation, at least three models of community emerge from observation and interviews. All start out with the proposition that the area is a good place to live, a good place to raise children, and is characterized by valued social and environmental resources.

One model has it that the community is threatened by abrasive external forces. These forces may be either personal (bureaucrats, environmentalists, legislators) or impersonal (pollution, surburban sprawl, national trends). If the population was left alone, it could maintain a valued way of life with comparatively little effort. This would be true

in part because useful activities are pleasurable in themselves. Given that arbitrary or exploitive outside forces may combine to make the area too expensive, restrictive, or unhealthy to live in, proper conduct takes on the additional dimension of duty. "Keeping our town a decent place to live" is sometimes given as a reason for working on committees, conducting rummage sales or other fund-raising activities, recruiting new members, circulating petitions, and keeping informed.

Community service may be a function of religious conviction, or other personal attitude. It may also be a conscious social strategy. As one civicly active resident put it, "When I came here to retire, I thought I could sort of take it easy for once in my life, but when I see what's happening in the nation, I feel that if I don't do everything I can, someday it will be happening right here."

A second model has it that the community itself is, by its very nature, a threat to individual well-being. An individual is not necessarily considered to be counter-productive if he expresses such views as, "It is getting so a person can't afford to live in Canyonville anymore," or "You're taking your life in your hands if you pick up a hitchhiker nowadays." It is not considered uncivic for a person to leave part of his house unpainted so that it will remain "uncompleted" for tax assessment purposes.

The resulting loss of revenue is compensated for by large-scale voluntary labor. One retired person took me aside at a volunteer fireman's Christmas party and pointed out, "Myrtle Creek has the best fire department in its class in the state on a $20,000 a year budget. Now take Hariston, for example. They have a $100,000 a year budget, fully salaried fire chief, fully salaried assistant fire chief, and we have a better department."

A third model of community emphasizes its avocational resources. Every year a few teachers leave South Umpqua for the cities because "there are more things to do there." However, a more frequent adaptation is for families or individuals to become extremely involved with some one avocation or cause, such as horse training, antique collecting, or church work, to the exclusion of others. Some avocations, such as fishing or organic gardening, may serve as escapes from civic responsibilities. Many require

some public recognition and may be measured in quantity: the number of landscape paintings sold, the number of communities in which the Smoky Valley Gun Fighters performed, the amount of charitable funds raised. Avocational groups may be civic organizations in themselves, as with the Search and Rescue Patrol or the School Boosters Club. Avocational groups may also be a source of civic betterment drives, contributing to annual parades or participating in anti-litter campaigns. Members of special purpose groups, with information on the rights of non-smokers, prevention of shop-lifting, and meals-on-wheels, tour other group meetings providing much needed agenda. Avocational groups are usually recruited regionally, and so serve as useful links to other communities. If the Pioneer Days committee wishes to contact the Kilties' Bagpipe Band in Medford, it does so through the local member. If it wants to compare dance bands, it asks members of the Shriners or others who tour widely.

The above observations are about community in the sense of people organized for collective purposes directed at the common good. Questions about the community would be answered by those so organized. Social news in the weekly papers is about such groups. The terms "community supporter" and "organizational leader" are almost synonymous.

Many individuals are outside the community as it is usually thought of. Community and non-community members may be referred to collectively as either "patrons of the community," as in "the school budget does not reflect the will of the patrons of the community," or the "public at large," as in informing the public at large of an upcoming election.

Many mill workers and loggers continue to participate in traditional groups which are not considered part of the community. Large, cohesive families are one such grouping. Some mill workers refuse to allow their wives to join clubs because they would take them away from the family. It is not uncommon for both sons-in-law and daughters-in-law to be expected to move in with the family, and neither sons nor daughters move out. Newcomers sometimes attach themselves to such families, bring their children birthday presents, and attend their track meets.

Another non-community grouping is called "drinking buddies." This may be a loose association of peers of the same age, a clustering of small families, or regular patrons of a tavern. One tavern in Riddle

holds an annual Fourth of July picnic for its regulars, as do the National Association to Keep and Bear Arms, churches, and civic groups. Drop into the same tavern three times in the same month, and its regulars begin pulling over to the side of the road to offer you a ride.

Associations of loggers are sometimes called "crews." Traditionally, on-the-job safety of loggers has depended on keen evaluation of each other's reliability. Logging companies try to "hold their crews together" for this reason, in spite of changes in logging contracts. Crews often maintain their social structure after working hours, the bull buck's opinion carrying more weight than that of the second loader.

Old-timers of pioneer stock who are not joiners may associate with those who are. They may be seen laughing and reminiscing over coffee, in spite of extreme differences in wealth.

DECISION-MAKING

The following is a somewhat idealized model of the process of coordinating and maintaining public consensus, which has been pieced together from a combination of interviews about traditional processes and observations of actual events.

According to the traditional model, many residents, especially mill workers, participated little in community events directly. Instead their social life was involved with large, cohesive families, "drinking buddies," or crews. However, a large proportion of the population did contribute to community events through membership in clubs, churches, or other organizations. The burden of coordinating community decision-making fell to a small scattering of residents, who were variously called "civic-minded citizens," "responsible people," or "people who know how to get things done." Individuals of this type included businessmen, professional people, ministers, long-time municipal or school employees, retired school teachers, eldest members of large families of pioneer stock, or ordinary citizens who made a point of being knowledgeable about community affairs.

Leaders of the community typically belonged to a number of specialized organizations. Key organizations where matters of general

public well-being were discussed included the municipal governments, the school board, the Chamber of Commerce, the Breakfast Club, Elks, Lions, the Ministerial Alliance, and others. Any one meeting of a key organization was likely to be attended by representatives of many organizations and interest groups. A minister, for example, might represent his church at the Ministerial Alliance and be associated with organized youth activities. A member of a garden club might attend city council meetings and be associated with civic beautification drives.

Opinions of community leaders were usually accepted without question, both by other leaders and by the public at large. If the representative of the volunteer fire department reported to the Chamber of Commerce that the department had retained its Class A rating, he might be asked, "Is that good?" but not, "What does the term mean?"

Leadership roles usually lasted many years. Association among leaders was almost always friendly and cooperative, but loud exchanges could occur. The mayor, for example, might tongue-lash the city council for holding informal discussions outside the council chambers. Such outbursts seldom led to resignations or withdrawal. To be out of the decision-making process was to be ineffectual and possibly lonely.

If leaders were seen as being unresponsive to public expectations, grass roots opposition movements could develop. A series of such movements was directed against economic leadership in 1935 and another series at the schools after consolidation in 1965. Other potential opposition movements were checked, either because leaders became more responsive to public demands or sources of disruption were isolated. As an example of the latter, a few retired teachers sought revenge against their former employers by campaigning bitterly against each school levy. Organizations to which they belonged lost influence, and their efforts were almost entirely ineffectual.

The school system may be seen as a subset of the larger social organization. The term "community" is still used when discussing schools even though, since consolidation, the district has consisted of four voting precincts including two municipalities. In 1972 all school board members were either businessmen or professional people. All members had been in office for more than ten years. School board meetings were almost totally

unattended by the general public, and levy elections usually passed on the first try with a light vote.

In 1972 leadership associated with public education included administrators and school board members as well as other influential citizens. The latter included businessmen, ministers, retired school teachers, and one socially active elderly woman. Educational philosophies of leaders included extreme conservatism, a pragmatic view that modern schools were good for business, and an attitude among school board members that modernizing education was a professional duty. Members of the school board, plus a few other people, had an almost complete monopoly of knowledge of school finances, accreditation requirements, and other esoteric information.

Leaders who were opposed to school policy usually remained silent, at least until after a levy was passed. One opponent to school policy, who has never been accused of timidity, stated that his friends were forever after him to attend school board meetings, but he "never got around to it." When other leaders were given this situation as a hypothetical example, they explained that when responsible people were at loggerheads, the schools get into trouble, as they did after consolidation.

In 1972 both leaders and members of the general public expressed a clear model of the relationship between education, schools and levy elections. According to this model, formal education consisted of two aspects. One was variously called "core," "basics," or "fundamentals." This aspect was seen as consisting of everything a student needed, educationally, in preparation for adulthood. The second was called "support," "reward," "frills," or "fat." This aspect consisted of such things as school plays or field trips which were considered desirable but not necessary. If the public approved of school policy it "rewarded" the administration by allowing "frills" to be included in the budget. If bright new band uniforms were commented on, a resident might reply, "This town supports its schools, so we decided to reward the superintendent." If the public disapproved of how the schools were run, it voted down the levy. The budget committee reconvened, "trimmed the fat off," and sent it back to the voters.

The idea of trimming the "core," much less that of closing schools altogether, was considered so uncivic and irresponsible that residents could think of almost no circumstance where it might occur. As the budget committee deleted a few stop watches here, a bit of janitorial service there, someone would protest, "We're getting at the fundamentals." Several such admonitions would indicate that the budget cutting had come to an end.

SUMMARY

It can be seen that traditionally vital social services were maintained in a friendly small town setting by an intricate system of checks and balances. The civically active population participated directly through organizations where, in addition, they were represented in general decision-making bodies by "people who know how to get things done." The public could control municipalities, schools, and other institutions by granting or withholding "frills" without rejecting the institution. Policy-making positions were fairly secure because, among other things, few people were perceived as having the time and leadership skills to "get things done." Grass root rebellions were seen as available as a last resort.

The sense of individual freedom which residents find satisfying is maintained in part by the relative ease of affiliation with individuals in recognized groups. Various mechanisms are available to assure that structure and function of groups remain the same while allowing for change of personnel. Thus freedom is maintained without anarchy. This process is not well understood by anthropologists to this day (Burch, 1975:292).

Groups may function to place the individual within the community decision-making process, as with clubs, or maintain him outside of that process, as with informal workers' groups. Groups may be highly specific as to membership, as with women's clubs or loggers' crews, but having some place for anyone who feels a need for affiliation is one mechanism of maintaining community. The system does not distinguish between newcomers and old-timers. A new businessman or minister will quickly be recruited into the Chamber of Commerce, or other general community decision-making organizations. A new laborer may quickly become a part of a crew

and, if he chooses, a member of the volunteer fire department or some other civic organization which will lead him increasingly into community decision-making. The sense of continuity which a newcomer finds attractive is based upon a system in which he himself can participate or contribute.

Participating in the community is not necessarily the same as participating in the municipality. Many residents are seen as assets to the community because of contacts they maintain with organizations outside the area. Keeping current with local events is not the same as keeping an eye on the community.

CHAPTER THREE, CHANGES IN SOUTH UMPQUA

The period between 1970 and 1977 was the latest era of increasing prosperity after a long series of booms and busts. Each upswing in the economy left the area somewhat different than did the one before.

Although such admonitions as "keep our town clean," and "It's getting so you can't afford to live in Canyonville any more," express a desire for continuity with the past, residents agree that times are changing. People generally place the time of the beginning of the most recent change at 1970, when the population began to increase. Between 1970 and 1977 the school district population of about 8,000 increased by 4% per year, in spite of falling birth rates and smaller families. The school-aged population remained stable at around 2,500. There was much building activity, and real estate values and rent approximately doubled. Income and taxes increased about 50%, and extremely poor persons were forced out of the area by rising rents.

THE NEWCOMERS

A 1976 housing survey received 478 responses from families in the district. Of these, 201 families had moved into the district since 1970, 109 of the respondents coming from out of state. The survey asked for up to 39 reasons for moving into the area. The most frequently listed reasons might be called environmental attractions, such as better neighborhoods, schools, or climate, drawing 764 responses. Family reasons, such as marriage or divorce, were the next most frequent responses (152), followed by job opportunity evoking 98 responses (Umpqua Regional Council of Governments, 1976).

The results of this survey were consistent with a widely held belief in South Umpqua that people who moved into the area did so because they wanted to live there, not because of economic opportunity. Quite a few newcomers came in spite of greater career opportunities elsewhere. Actual interviews showed that newcomers ranged from extreme right wingers to hippies who settled in communes in the hills. Newcomers who rose to positions of influence included patriotic retirees, who were quick to

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notice if a parade were not led by the American flag, as well as members of NOW (National Organization for Women).

Two differences between the wholesale immigration of the 1940's and 1950's and that of the 1970's should be noted. Population during the postwar boom years so overwhelmed public facilities that a great deal of pressure was generated to build new schools and expand municipal facilities and services. During the 1970's, public administrators called for increased frugality and the greater use of volunteer services.

At the time of the postwar boom, agriculture had been unprofitable for 20 years, so it was practical for industry and residences to expand into former prune orchards. Virtually all easily developed land was utilized by the 1970's. Serious confrontations with administrative bodies began to occur over such problems as installing septic tanks on marginal land. Revenue was generated by raising taxes on already existing homes.

Beginning about 1970 immigration increased, both as a result of renewed development of forest product industries, and due to the impact of a new nationwide trend of flight from the cities. Since this new pattern of immigration to rural areas has hit social scientists by surprise, little theory is available concerning it (Capener, 1975:398-400).

In South Umpqua newcomers quickly become old-timers. The sense of American heritage which true newcomers find attractive is often conveyed by arrivals of only a few years earlier. How this consensus is maintained in spite of many differences in economic standards, age, education, and other factors occupied a considerable amount of my time. The results indicated that social control is extraordinarily diffuse.

People who come to South Umpqua to get away from the cities usually fell into one of three overlapping categories. One type of person was attracted by what they perceived to be honesty, candor, hard work, and self-discipline on the part of rural populations, as contrasted to lawlessness, drug abuse, and decay of the cities. Another type was attracted by perceived simplicity, slow pace of living, opportunity for self-fulfillment, and the opportunity to be close to nature, as contrasted to the impersonality, stereotyped roles, and hypocrisy of city life. In other words, the former type objected to the permissiveness of urban life, while the latter to its regimentation. A third type, which may or may not

overlap the first two, included those who came to start over in a different and more pleasant environment after a family tragedy or career setback. It was not at all uncommon to meet a mill worker, logger, or small businessman who moved in from the city after a divorce or loss of upward mobility. Mill employers showed little interest in a job applicant's age, previous employment, years of residency, or type of military discharge (Stevens, Pierson, and Ervin, 1975:28). In the past this openness had provided migratory harvesters from the dust bowl with an opportunity to escape their cycle of poverty. In the 1970's, the mills assumed the added function of providing a place for those unemployed as a result of "overeducation." The winding down of the NASA space program in the early 1970's was accompanied by a flurry of job applications from space engineers seeking employment as mechanics in the mills.

Newcomers often appeared to be indifferent to conventional symbols of social hierarchy. They may have moved into a trailer or cottage after selling a substantial home in the city. Alternatively, retired military officers or businessmen took jobs as night watchmen in the mills or custodians in the schools to help pay for substantial homes in the country. Freedom of conduct and association were assumed to be rural assets.

In other words, newcomers shared a great many characteristics, but they were not a group in that they were not necessarily attracted to each other by mutual interests. Under different circumstances newcomers might have segregated themselves into urban neighborhoods, attempted to impose urban values on the local population, or otherwise supported their mutual interests. Instead, newcomers were at least as likely to form associations and joining patterns with established residents as with each other. Opportunity to participate in already ongoing social activities was often seen as an attraction to the area. As is often the case with recent converts, newcomers were apt to "out-Oregon the Oregonians." They cheerfully participated in potluck dinners, rummage sales, community fund-raising drives; they made quilts, entered homemade pickles in annual contests, and were heard to remark spontaneously, "We never had this kind of opportunity in Minneapolis," or wherever.

The very fact that a substantial number of newcomers sought to participate in these social activities created an environment for change.

Newcomers created opportunities for change by bringing leadership skills and other social resources into the area. They also created a need for change by placing strains on already obsolete public facilities, thereby necessitating more bond elections.

INTEGRATION OF THE NEWCOMERS

Some newcomers have a difficult time adjusting. A successful merchant early advised me, "You have to jump in with both feet. I was here for three years and didn't know a soul. Then I decided to jump in with both feet." Established residents, including those who have been in the area for only a few years, have a clear taxonomy of types of newcomers who are not expected to make it in rural Oregon.

One type is expected to be unhappy and ineffectual because of what might be called urban provincialism. "The church sent us a minister from one of those ritzy suburbs in California. He couldn't talk about fishing, he couldn't talk about logging; all he could do was have tea with the little old ladies, and the attendance just went pffft."

Another type is referred to as "Californian," as in "Californianize" or "a California story," although the referrent may not be from California and the speaker might well be. The term refers to an attitude. Californians would "come in and try to run the town," by streamlining decision-making processes, depersonalizing offices, restricting individual freedom, and, in short, introducing the urban blight they were trying to flee. One resident, for instance, stated, "I came here from California 17 years ago, but I am getting sick and tired of Californians coming in and telling us how to do things. Maybe we are hicks but we like being hicks. We are happier. We live longer."

An infrequent but potentially dangerous type of newcomer is variously called a "boomer," "hit-and-run artist," "carpetbagger," or even a "representative of organized crime." This type would make a fortune from the advantages of the area, then leave the country worse then he found it to enjoy his profits elsewhere. Residents fear that such newcomers may strip the hills of forest or capitalize on the short-term boom that would be created by the building of a proposed Days Creek Dam.

A fourth type of newcomer would enjoy the advantages of small town living while denying it to others. Such families would add their mite to the problems of economic growth, then complain about real estate inflation, vote against municipal improvement bonds, oppose issuing building permits, and fear that the children of "Californians" were introducing drug culture into the schools. As the saying goes, they want to "come in and close the door behind them."

The title "newcomer" may never be lost entirely. An 80-year-old resident may refer to an immigrant of the 1920's as a newcomer. The term starts to drop away as soon as the new resident begins speaking of the area with some familiarity. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish newcomers from established residents. A newcomer is never insulted at being taken for an old-timer.

Decision-making

Civic-minded newcomers often rise to positions of leadership early in their careers. A great deal of background knowledge is not a prerequisite for holding responsible positions; instead active leadership is a means of gaining thorough knowledge of the community. Giving individuals responsibility is a mechanism of assimilation.

It is often difficult to recognize community decision-making processes. Municipalities in South Douglas County have traditionally contained a comparatively small number of opinion-makers. These opinion-makers might include local merchants, lumber barons who relate local implications of national legislation to customers in the barber shop while getting a haircut, school teachers, ministers, senior citizens who lived in the area all their lives, and others. The qualities they have in common are ability and inclination to remain thoroughly informed, and the confidence of those with whom they share their opinions.

School board members, who are opinion-makers, sometimes receive phone calls from voters asking which candidates for election they can get along with best. The school administration kept a list of reliable voters. On election day administrators and school board members phoned residents on the list to remind them to vote. Some board members were rather insistent. "Now you get out there and vote. I am going to check

the poll book tomorrow, and I expect to see your name on it."

Observations are that in South Umpqua the number and variety of opinion-makers have been increasing rapidly during the 1970's, and that consensus among them has been decreasing.

Taking an interest in local history is an efficient strategy for a newcomer to become counted quickly as a useful citizen. History in this sense usually means accounts of emigrant trains, Indian wars, and other events encountered by the pioneers. Personally remembered history is used in crucial situations where highly practical matters are being considered. When a county official explained to the Myrtle Creek Chamber of Commerce why the country-owned garbage dump would be precipitously closed, a number of members spoke out against the closure. The admonition which appeared to carry the most weight was that of a longstanding merchant who said, "I can remember when children went out at night with flashlights and 22's to pot rats where people had dumped garbage alongside the road. That's what's going to happen again if you tell the people they have to drive seven miles to a disposal site." The Chamber took out an injunction against the county, and the disposal site remained open.

When residents are asked direct questions concerning their town's history, they respond with candor. The resulting knowledge should not be used to embarrass living individuals or families. Effectiveness of newcomers, therefore, is a function not only of expertise they bring with them, but also of the accumulation of recent local history they acquire and use with discretion. The following is one version of a story illustrating shared knowledge which many successful new residents have either never heard, or know about but do not discuss.

Lester R. Gill was a brilliant education major at the University of Oregon. He received his teaching certificate, plus the most flattering possible letters of recommendation, then died. Unfortunately, there was nothing in his credentials which showed that he was unfit to teach because he was dead. A mature freshman going through the university on the GI Bill also had the name Lester R. Gill. The odd coincidence of their having the same name was brought to his attention, so he applied for and received a superintendency in Douglas County.

Lester R. Gill systematically fired the best teachers who were,

for that very reason, in a position to blow his cover. He kept the school budget pared to a sliver, and kept the school ground bright and shiny. The community's feeling about him ran so high that pro- and anti-Gill factions came to sit on opposite sides of the same church. Eventually the ruse was discovered, and a school board is said to have reluctantly asked for Mr. Gill's resignation.

A number of members of school boards, budget committees, and other civic organizations must know of the saga of Lester R. Gill because the affair was public knowledge while they were residents. However, I never heard the incident mentioned publicly, even as a witty anecdote.

The transition from newcomer to old-timer is accelerated by participating in widely shared dramatic events. The most obvious of these will be discussed separately.

Natural Disasters

During 1973 many people learned a great deal about community needs, tax structures, the value of improvisation, and the virtue of helpfulness. Throughout the summer drought the Myrtle Creek city manager addressed groups about the extreme fire danger, and his talks received good coverage in the Mail. The Forest Service intensified its camper education program. Usually mild mannered officials got on the phone and gave hell to wasters of water.

Canyonville passed an ordinance against watering lawns. Lawns and gardens died, and children were injured playing on dry school grounds. Some families of pioneer stock saved their bath water to keep their flowers alive. One newcomer mulched his vegetable garden the day before the ordinance went into effect and brought in a good crop. He was openly admired for his ingenuity. As wells went dry, people showered in other peoples' homes.

As the streams continued to drop, state environmental agencies tried to cancel water rights in order to protect fish runs. Detailed knowledge about the laws governing water rights became widely known. Newcomers, who had been sentimentally in favor of ecological moves as long as they did not cost them personally, joined established residents in being angered by the agencies' values. The "people versus fish" con-

troversy gained statewide attention, and the state health department intervened to prevent the Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) from closing the water system of the nearby town of Glendale.

The drought was followed by a prolonged freeze. Water pipes burst and cars would not start. Families which had showered in other peoples' homes had a chance to reciprocate, or to pass the favor along.

The freeze was followed by torrential rains which, falling on frozen ground, did not sink in but ran directly into the rivers. When the rivers left their banks on January 15, a great many local people volunteered to help others. Such aid was based on a variety of associations, such as residential groupings, as in the case of a log truck driver who hauled his neighbors on Shoestring Road through rising waters, and occupational groupings, as with a smelter worker who woke up everybody on his night shift. In our case, members of our church offered us lodging.

Nearly everyone who had to be rescued by the fire department, including my wife and me, were newcomers. As the fire truck pulled into safety at the bridge, it was greeted by a crowd which cheered and waved. The social atmosphere was almost festive.

During the three days of the flood there were no strangers. Information was exchanged concerning which roads were open and what businesses were closed, and practical advice was given on how the floods of 1964, 1953, and 1926 were coped with. Years later one can buy a beer for someone he seldom sees, with a comment to the bartender that they had gone through the flood together.

Planned Community Events

During the lumber boom of the 1950's, a number of towns in Southern Oregon and Northern California experimented with annual civic events. Some of these, such as the rooster crowing contest at Rogue River and the jumping frog contest at Angel's Camp, California, have become nationally famous. In South Umpqua such efforts crystalized into the annual Wood'n' Nickel Days celebration in Myrtle Creek and Pioneer Days in Canyonville. To a newcomer these festivities appear as spontaneous, lighthearted outpourings of community good will. Crowds jam the sidewalks to watch the typical small town parade with its floats, fire trucks, marching units, mounted units, antique automobiles, children's groups, and other displays

by public organizations. Churches, clubs, school organizations, promotional organizations, and others do a thriving business at food, game, and souvenir booths.

The communities realize a number of benefits from a successful annual celebration. Influential people become acquainted with each other. Relatives from outside the district take the occasion to visit their families.

Preparations begin as early as ten months before the event. Committee members build a close working relationship. Emerging leaders learn to work with core organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, Breakfast Club, Lions Club, volunteer fire department, and city government. Tendencies toward exclusiveness are discouraged. The Mormon Church, Baptist Church, Tailgaters, National Association to Keep and Bear Arms, Association of Retired People, Old Time Fiddlers Association, high school cheerleaders society, and scores of other organizations are recruited. If certain groups object to the way the events are being handled, they do not participate the next year rather than oppose the leadership.

Public Protest Movements

Since the 1930's, public protest groups rarely have been formed in South Umpqua, although several grass-roots voters' organizations sprang up shortly after school consolidation in 1965. However, during the 1970's, broadly based citizens' organizations became quite frequent. While few of these disturbed the tranquil social setting from the point of a newcomer, all were of great importance to established residents, and intense feelings were expressed in the community. One such example will be described here.

After the drought of 1973, a circle of "Californians" (actually both newcomers and old-timers) successfully circulated a petition for an election to replace the local police in Canyonville with a contract with the county for sheriff's protection. In theory county police would cost less and would make more arrests, thereby generating more revenue through fines. In theory also, the city could then afford a new water system without raising taxes.

Reaction by the old-timers (actually both old-timers and newcomers) in support of their local police was fast and furious. Normally lightly

attended city council meetings were jam-packed, with both pro and con citizens present. The council was obviously extremely reluctant to authorize the election, but because the petition had been signed the election had to be held. In the course of the meetings residents were provided with detailed information about the city charter, state and county laws, city history, and other practical matters. There were gasps of "I didn't know that when I signed the petition," from members of the audience. Full-page newspaper advertisements also were run.

Reorganization was overwhelming defeated, and the episode came to a final end with a testimonial potluck dinner for the police chief. "You be sure and be there! And you be sure and bring Maggie! We all know Deed. We all grew up together in this town, and we all know what he has done for Canyonville."

The above was an invitation to my wife and me, who had lived in the area for less than three years, to attend the testimonial dinner. To our astonishment, we were old-timers!

THE SYSTEM IS BECOMING "FLAT"

The local term "flat" refers to increasing freedom of association and conduct. Older residents who grew up in the area during the agricultural period before World War II recall their towns as tightly knit communities where "everybody was related to everybody." Residents who came in during the boom years of the 1940's and 1950's recall that time as being one of intense social activity centering around drives to expand public facilities.

During the 1970-77 period newcomers who came to get away from the cities found it difficult to avoid becoming involved in a variety of associations. If they belonged to national associations, such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Seventh Day Adventist Church, or the carpenters' union, they either found a chapter awaiting them or they helped organize one. If they were attracted by avocational resources of the area, they found like-minded enthusiasts. Often the result was a new formal organization.

Mill workers and loggers in the area had more options in the 1970's than they did previously. They could still adapt to the traditional social resources and be prepared to move on as job opportunities changed.

Many mill workers became enthusiastic members of avocational clubs and, more often, of formal civic organizations. Membership was not only permitted but actively sought. The Lions Club, for instance, which was chartered for business and professional men, admitted a retired laborer who had helped organize Pioneer Days. In 1973 and 1974 loggers, who did not own suits or ties, sometimes borrowed attire for initiation into the Elks lodge. In 1975 and 1976 informal dress was worn at such initiations.

Most organizations have annually rotating leaderships. Far from aspiring to leadership, members might be pushed into such positions as a condition for continuing membership. Leadership by training and experience is extremely widespread. Civic betterment programs, such as beautification drives or enforcement of dog leash laws, have little chance for success if they derive from a narrow organizational base. Support of the business community, for example, is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for a civic event.

In 1973 a smelter worker related an incident which happened a few days earlier to one of the first long-haired employees in the plant.

> Bob Buckley just hates those hippie types. Some of the crew were sort of horse playing with this long-haired kid, acting like they were going to cut his hair with these shears. Bob grabbed the shears and cut the kid's hair right off. He got mad and stomped off and quit the job in the middle of the day. Right shortly the foreman came up to Bob and said, 'Don't you ever do that again; that guy could have sued the company for a fortune. If you ever do that again, you're canned.'

In 1977 long hair, beards, and conspicuously casual dress were so common among young mill and smelter workers that they were becoming the norm.

Community studies of a generation or more ago sometimes showed community structure to be diamond shaped, with a broad middle base, a few extremely prosperous residents at the top, and a few extremely poor at the bottom, all of whom had a place in the community (Harris, 1971: 418-419). Pioneer records suggest that prosperous families in Douglas County, such as the Riddles, did have secure positions of leadership, and resident "loafers" are remembered. The two groups were highly accepting of each other and might even be related (WPA, 1938-39).

In the 1970's, the more approachable a mill owner or forest tract owner is, the more socially influential he is. Such individuals attend civic organizations along with school teachers, shop owners, and others. They may very well be defeated in elections for school board, city council, or organizational leadership by truck drivers, housewives, or others. In addition to their economic function, the most prosperous individuals have a specialized communication function. They belong to state or national advisory councils and keep the local population informed on such complex matters as progress of legislation on the Days Creek Dam, implications of court rulings on clear-cut logging cases, and state plans for highway construction.

The poor are usually described as families whose breadwinners have been injured on the job. The most extremely substandard housing is occupied by hard core welfare cases, hippies, and descendants of the pioneers who are surrounded by millions of dollars worth of timber which they own. Such individuals indicate that they are unaware of each other's existence.

THE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM IS BECOMING ECLECTIC

Residents of pioneer stock, of the post-war boom years, and recent arrivals agree that the first group has more "cohesion" than the second, which in turn has more than the third. Cohesion means different things to different people, but the basic criterion appears to be that of taking a personal interest in the welfare of people of noticeably different conditions in life. The more recent an arrival is, the more likely he is to associate, through limited purpose associations, with those who have similar interests, and on the basis of services rendered.

It is becoming not at all uncommon for an individual to live in one municipality, work in another, shop in a third, worship in a fourth, and belong to five or six organizations which recruit regionally rather than locally. There are various reasons for greater regional associations. As an established family outgrows its home, it may be forced by the housing shortage to move to a different municipality, while maintaining association with the home town. As club members drop out, replacements may be sought regionally, as everyone's friends are overcommitted. If new

neighbors prove to be objectionable, a family may broaden its horizons. For the new arrival, adapting to regional attractions may be a function of settling in.

This scattering of associations has complicated local communication. For example, in 1974 the voters in South Umpqua elected a school teacher, employed in a neighboring district, to the school board, in spite of a general understanding that such a situation with its many potentials for conflict of interest should not occur. As recently as 1976 attendants at school board meetings expressed their admiration for the teacher by asking who he was.

Another example concerns a three-day orientation for parents of new freshmen, as a part of the Experimental Schools program. Notices about the orientation were run in the Mail three weeks in a row. High school and junior high school records were combed. Teachers were asked to supply additional information. The meetings were considered to be highly successful, but some parents never heard of the meetings.

THE SANCTION SYSTEM IS CHANGING

In the past, when a resident withdrew from a social organization he was faced with the possibility of isolation. Since 1970, however, loss of membership has been more threatening to organizations than to their members. Most influential residents have more social commitments than they can comfortably handle. The admonition, "If you do not participate, you cannot complain," is sometimes given by overworked committee persons for reluctantly accepting new responsibilities. Some school board members claim to have lost more than a hundred dollars a month because of time taken away from business for official duties. When the mayor of Myrtle Creek abruptly resigned in 1973 the city went without a mayor for almost a year, while the acting mayor made no secret of his eagerness to turn over responsibilities to his replacement. When a newly formed county-wide organization to bring industry to the area requested that the Canyonville Breakfast Club set up a sub-committee, an influential resident protested, "We're all clubbed to death." What she meant was that they all belonged to more organizations than they could reasonably be responsible for.

Under these circumstances it is easy for an individual to lose interest in any one organization as he has abundant social resources elsewhere. If a meeting is poorly attended, those present are likely to ponder whether it is because they are doing such a good job that members feel they are needed more by other groups, or whether they have somehow rebuffed those not present.

Leadership organizations which did not recruit actively were in danger of becoming socially isolated and therefore ineffectual. The type of organization which had once been called "elite" or "exclusive," at least for purposes of explaining their functions to an outsider, came to be called "cliques." The name was easily used, especially by potential contributors who were looking for an excuse not to join. The standard reply was, "Come on and join the clique." Some formal organizations recognize the ineffectuality of cliques and consider the results to be desirable. They neither recruit nor accept new members, but are content to allow their organization to die with them.

The danger of being labeled cliquish and therefore ineffectual is recognized. The 1973 and 1974 Myrtle Creek Wood'n'Nickel Days were something less than successful. Some church groups disapproved of a Jaycee-sponsored beer garden. Some charitable fund raising groups were disappointed that professional carnival groups had been admitted. The 1974 parade consisted of six fire trucks and three floats. Many events were largely unattended.

A new organization to revise the event was formed. Members on the planning committee agreed that the widespread withdrawal was evidence that something had gone wrong with the system. After much soul searching, it was decided to stress the idea of local participation in a local event for the 1975 Wood'n'Nickel Days. Newcomers and old-timers worked together for nearly a year, contacting local organizational leaders. In the end, the parade consisted of 90 entries, and a record heat wave did not keep throngs from the midway.

When citizen involvement in organizations decreases, leaders have greater autonomy to make decisions. Residents then may express their dissatisfaction through grass roots protest movements rather than the existing network of organizations. Eight such grass roots protest movements

occurred between 1973 and 1977. The organizations and their targets were: Concerned Citizens of Canyonville (police), Concerned Citizens for Education (schools), public hearings on a lawsuit against a telephone company (facilities), public hearings on the Days Creek Dam (environment and economy), Concerned Citizens of Tri-City (sewers), the Volunteer Parent Patrol (schools), public hearings on the Department of Environmental Quality (septic tanks), and public hearings on MACOS (schools).

All these groups opposed arbitrary use of power by forces which were seen as having a narrow organizational base and drew support from people whose attitudes covered a broad range from liberals to conservatives. Extremely conservative formal organizations, such as the John Birch Society, the National Association to Keep and Bear Arms, and the Posse Comitatus, are present and highly vocal in Douglas County, but they were conspicuous by their absence in all of the protest meetings except the MACOS hearings, where a national textbook reform organization played a role.

Except for the Volunteer Parent Patrol and the MACOS hearings, which occurred closely together and might be considered one movement, there was extremely little overlap of personnel. It could not be predicted from observing one citizens' movement who would be involved in the next grass roots protest. Some of the issues are obviously of regional interest. The payers of the Tri-City sewer bond naturally have little interest in the Canyonville police. Some distinctions are obviously personal. People who are in favor of liberal septic tank rulings are likely to own land on flood plain and be in favor of the Days Creek Dam.

Prominent residents of pioneer stock were much in evidence in the movement to retain the Canyonville police, but they recruited newcomers with enthusiasm. Residents of many years standing were also much involved with the protest against the Department of Environmental Quality, but they made friends with newcomers in the process. The last two protests against the schools contained a fairly even mixture of newcomers and old-timers. Newcomers were extremely visible and vocal in the other grass roots movements and had considerable support from non-vocal old-timers.

MONETARY VALUES ARE CHANGING

General opinion has it that life in rural America should be inexpensive because few demands are made for public services. Rural assets should be least expensive of all because they are readily available. This attitude may have had more validity in the past when rural America was experiencing net emigration and stable population. Given net population growth in South Umpqua, the reverse of the supposed advantages to rural living is often the case.

As population growth forces expansion of public facilities, solutions based on urban models are often the least expensive. However, an indirect cost is often loss of rural assets which had been taken for granted in the past. The results are higher taxes for poorer services and a lower standard of living.

Canyonville, for example, could long since have had a new water system at a reasonable cost by agreeing to pump from the South Umpqua river. This solution would have required chlorinating the water for the first time. The idea of saving money by "Californianizing" the town was extremely unpopular, and alternatives were sought for years. In 1975 the town voted in a $620,000 water bond intended to supply sufficient spring water. State officials invited to analyze the situation recommended up to $1,700,000 in locally financed improvements and, according to interpretation, counseled, threatened, or blackmailed the town with the likelihood of its water plant being being condemned.

A rather complex example of demand for rural assets is underway at the time of this writing. As housing starts continue, more building occurs on exotic or marginal land. This choice is due in part to desire for a home with a view, or stream frontage, or isolation. Developments are also due to the fact that reliable well water is unevenly distributed, and so neighborhood-like clusters of residence develop in isolated localities such as Surprise Valley and Wagon Wheel Road. Tensions develop between independent-minded residents and public officials.

One resident, for example, who calls himself "Fearless Fred," was ordered by the Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) to replace an above standard septic tank with another one. The incident became the starting point of a sizable taxpayers' resistance movement. Fearless Fred

wrote letters to the editors of three papers. Other citizens also wrote letters, both pro and con, with more examples of apparently arbitrary treatment by the department. Three newspapers gave front page coverage to the events, as Fearless announced that if he was evicted, it would be feet first, and he gathered widespread support. In addition, Fearless Fred's case was discussed at formal organizational meetings which usually stick to tight agendas.

A hearing at the county seat was called by the county commissioners to explore the possibility of recommending changes in the law to the state legislature. The meeting was attended by about 75 people from municipalities in two counties. The county commissioner represented the almost uniformly antagonistic audience. The DEQ manager and two septic tank inspectors defended the position of the Department of Environmental Quality. The inspectors used a blackboard to illustrate the complex problems of analyzing exotic soils; under certain conditions downhill septic tanks can contaminate uphill water supplies, under certain conditions earth fill can be classified as native soil, Oregon has 32 types of soil, compared with six for Kansas, and so on.

Questions from the floor were scheduled for the second half of the meeting but developed early and spontaneously. One lady claimed that inspectors had denied her a permit because they had no way of knowing that she would not add bedrooms to her home. A retired military veteran compared the detailed regulations he endured in the service with what he called a "Catch 22" situation he had experienced in building a rental home. He had hooked up his home, plus a trailer, to a double duty septic tank. The inspectors had condemned the trailer hookup, but allowed its occupants to remain on condition that they use the facilities in their landlord's home, where their effluents would flow in the same tank they would have anyway. At another point the county commissioner observed that the regulations were forcing home owners to build on farm land, when they wanted to build on hillsides, and with only about one percent of the county left in farms, that land should be preserved for agriculture. The DEQ manager answered that septic tanks were designed for farm land because that was where they had been built in the past. It is easier to build anything, houses, roads, etc., on farm land. The previous year DEQ had

requested $70,000 in appropriations to develop workable septic tanks for other types of soil, but had gotten no money.

The DEQ was faced with a series of dilemmas. It is required by law to adopt regulations which are based on a false assumption of abundance of conventional land. If it over-interprets the regulations, it lays itself open to charges of arbitrariness or favoritism. If it interpreted the rules literally, it may find it is not rendering social service. Those who would intentionally circumvent regulations with malice aforethought are not likely to pretend to be intelligent. Instead they will use professed ignorance to misinterpret the standards in their own favor. To protect the public against malfeasance, and still render equal justice under law, the department must assume ignorance on the part of everyone. This assumption is made more difficult by the growing uniqueness of individual decisions as residents more frequently build on exotic land.

The attitude of the public, quite clearly, was that a citizen should be considered innocent until proven guilty, and competent until proven incompetent. The solution to the problem of change is to decrease reliance on outside sources, since those sources, like the free individual, are self-serving in the long run. Instead, solutions to the problems of change should be sought by increasing the competency of the individual. Families, which build their own homes, repair their own cars, and in other ways find unique solutions to their problems, should be esteemed more highly than those who do not, both because they develop personally and because in solving problems for themselves they also solve problems for others. The contrary philosophy of assuming incompetence, dishonesty, and ignorance of everyone, for the purpose of not excluding those cases where the assumption is appropriate, necessarily results in treating people as if they needed to be protected from themselves. During the hearings on the septic tank rulings, Fearless Fred read the following poem:

> They'll calm us down and hold our hand,
> Pick our pockets and zone our land.
> They plan ahead and treat us like a bum,
> The next thing you know they'll have our gun.

Please don't laugh, this is not funny.
They're doing it all on our own tax money.

SUMMARY

The residents of South Umpqua live in a pluralistic society. The society is not pluralistic in the modern anthropological sense of several distinct social and/or cultural groups coexisting interdependently within the same polity and sharing the same economy while maintaining their autonomy (Van Den Berghe, 1973:961). Instead the system is pluralistic in the nineteenth century sense of being characterized by the division of effective decision-making power among a wide variety of autonomous groups and interactions in competition with each other (ibid.:959).

The public attitude is characterized by a general sense of well-being, based on optimism and self-confidence resulting from actual accomplishment. Residents feel fortunate to live in an attractive physical and social environment. The ideal of volunteer service, community spirit, and working together for common goals are highly visible in times of natural disasters, during annual community events, and in citizen opposition movements. Through these activities residents become more knowledgeable about their community and form close working relationships.

It would appear that "real community spirit" is evidenced only during disaster situations, such as the flood. From this inference one would conclude during normal times the community is a community in name only. However, I believe a more accurate interpretation is that the functions of community are maintained continuously, but the attitudes upon which they are based are reinforced only periodically. At most times individuals are left to enjoy their felt right to be left alone.

A major accomplishment of the community during the 1970s was the assimilation of large numbers of newcomers from the cities without "spoiling the town." Although groups such as the Welcome Wagon program or church greeting committees existed, there were few planned mechanisms for helping newcomers to adapt to local conditions and for enlisting their services to help meet local needs. Those mechanisms which did result in assimilation also induced changes in the area. The sense of community became more regionalized rather than being centered on a municipality or

locality. Associational patterns became less predictable, communications less holistic, and rural assets more expensive; directions of social pressure changed.

Other changes were occurring as well. Stresses were developing between outside regulatory agencies and local individual self-interests. If there was no single local organization or person responsible for dealing with the problems created by social change, could not the outside agency suppose it was filling a leadership gap? But residents were hesitant to trust outsiders with their local affairs. And the school system was coming to be categorized more often as an outside agency.

CHAPTER FOUR, THE SCHOOLS

Some families have settled in or remain in South Umpqua in part because they approve of the learning and social environment of the schools. Some merchants point with pride to the schools as an economic asset. At a meeting of a committee to prepare a brochure on Myrtle Creek, the editor of the Mail quickly laid out a format illustrated with photos of the city library, the park, and the grade school. "That's the first thing a newcomer wants to know about a town," he explained. "What are its city government, its public facilities, and its schools." This brief introduction to the school system is primarily from the vantage point of 1972 when South Umpqua applied for Experimental Schools funds. Events which occurred later may be included if they indicate historical trends or points of continuity.

THE BUILDINGS

The eight buildings which are used for teaching were built between 1928 and 1967. First impressions are those of pleasant adequacy. Classes, of from 18 to 23 students, are not overcrowded. Six libraries, typically double classroom size, are lined wall-to-wall with mostly new books stacked five shelves deep. Sixty acres of school property (or grounds), a legacy of times when real estate was inexpensive, provide an abundance of room for playgrounds, athletic fields, and parking lots, plus room for expansion. Text books are renewed every six years, as required by state law. Since there are usually one or more textbook adoptions per year, instructional material is typically up-to-date. Band, athletic, and cheerleader uniforms have a sparkling appearance of newness.

There is also evidence of the economic ups and downs of the district's history and a penny-pinching budget policy. The Canyonville seventh and eighth graders still use the low drinking fountains and urinals originally installed for first graders. Playgrounds turn into quagmires during the winter. The football field was left to grow up in native grass when construction funds ran out, before it was finally

turfed. The 18 school busses are replaced at the rate of one a year. The oldest have been converted for hauling school lunches, laundry, and other equipment. The flat-roofed high school springs leaks every winter and is patched every summer, as funds to resurface the roof are cut from the budget.

The school system bakes its own bread, does its own laundry, repairs its own busses, and shifts personnel from one job to another to save money. At least a dozen classified personnel received increases in pay when federal minimum wages increased to $2.30 per hour. Teachers' salaries in 1973 averaged $8,000 per year.

Improvising, substituting, and making do are almost a way of life to the district. When a new administration building was built in Tri-City, administrators' names were left on what had formerly been reserved parking spaces in Myrtle Creek. Outlines of posters where high school students accidentally spray painted the patio remain over the years. Holes in the walls of atheltic practice rooms accumulate over time.

These savings in maintenance costs are due in part to a high emphasis on instruction. Teachers are reimbursed for summer school tuition. Salaries are scaled according to years of teaching experience and academic achievement.

THE SCHOOL BOARD

The publicly elected school board consists of three members from the former Myrtle Creek school district, one from Canyonville, and three representing the district at large, each elected for a four-year term. Elections are staggered to ensure continuity, with one or two positions coming up for election each year. Thus it could take as many as six years to elect a new school board.

In 1973 the school board consisted of a dentist, a veterinarian, an investor, a fuel distribution franchise owner, a forest engineer, a magistrate, and a millwright. All had been through the consolidation of 1965 and had a close working relationship based on long experience.

Monthly school board meetings began at 8:00 p.m. and usually ended promptly at 10:00. If the board got ahead on the agenda, as it often did, the last few items were discussed at length, apparently in an implicit understanding that the meeting should continue until 10:00.

Few if any representatives of the general public showed up at board meetings. One reason voters gave for not attending was confidence in the system; "Those people have been board members forever. There is nothing that can get by them." Another reason was that the extreme efficiency of the board made it difficult to follow procedures. "They go whoosh, whoosh, whoosh, all in favor? Next item. You can't tell what they are talking about."

Residents expressed several opinions about the composition of the school board: that it should represent a cross-section of the voting public, that it should consist of parents with school-age children, or that it should consist of poor people. "My husband says that the school board is so rich it doesn't care what it does with other peoples' money." However, the model which has been traditionally supported by the voters of South Umpqua is that the board should be of managerial or professional background. As one influential lifetime resident put it, "The school board has to be elite, or whatever you want to call it. Suppose the question of teachers' salaries comes up, and the teachers earn more than the board members? There is no way they could be objective. And another thing, if you get a few losers on the board, then nobody wants to work with them...Being on the school board takes a lot of work, so you have to have people who get along together."

THE ADMINISTRATION

Varying public perceptions of the school administration were a source of much public debate during the course of Experimental Schools. At one point a joke circulated among opponents of the school that there was a central administrative office for each classroom in the district. The 1972-73 Teacher Handbook listed nine administrative positions: superintendent, assistant superintendent, business manager, five principals, and a high school vice principal. The director of federal programs, the district wide evaluator, and a research assistant, all paid out of federal funds, also served on the administrative cabinet. Ten persons were listed under programs for special education, music, speech therapy, mentally handicapped education. Three were listed under instructional supervision, career education, science-mathematics, and physical education. Five certified central office staff were employed under federal programs,

and two were employed under the intern (student teaching) program. The high school had six department heads, all of whom were primarily classroom teachers, and four of whom had district-wide responsibilities.

A vice principal's position has since been created for the Myrtle Creek junior high school, and a director of staff development was added. Intern supervisor, district evaluator, research assistant, and Title I coordinator have been dropped. The relationship of the number of positions created under Experimental Schools to administration was a point of controversy.

The spacious two-building administrative complex actually had a surplus of office space and conference rooms which were used for storage, duplicating, or special instruction. The complex, architecturally above local standards, was built with federal assistance. The schools have come under considerable criticism for the luxurious administrative facilities in a district where classroom capital improvements are much needed. The superintendent's reply to criticism was that the district received considerable federal funds for research and development, and that the government wished to protect its investment by requiring adequate facilities for documenting the results.

The philosophy of the administration, as pieced together from many conversations, went something like this. During the industrial revolution, schools were developed along the factory model. The goal of education in this factory-analogous model was to manufacture a standardized product, prepared for the tedium and repetition of the factory, as demanded by the industrial market for laborers of uniform quality. This industrial model is consistent with the attitude of teachers who feel they are not productive when they are out of the classroom (assembly line), and that learning, like adult labor, should be uninteresting. This factory model, like the product being assembled, is composed of interchangeable parts, in contrast to the "organic model" in which parts grow, each contributing to all branches of the organism, and receiving from them. In either model corporal punishment and other forms of harassment breed hostility, which students take out first in the high school with vandalism and other forms of revenge, and later at the ballot box.

According to the superintendent, the world is fast headed toward major socio-economic metamorphosis, one aspect of which will be major

famine, another of which will be the emergence of world society. Adults whose education has been rooted in the past, rather than in the future, will be unable to adapt. Educators should anticipate the emerging system where learning will of necessity have to be continuous, self-rewarding, and adaptive. As the high school principal put it, learning contrasts to "being dead." In the past students were "experience rich and information poor." Today, with the mass media inundating youngsters with data but with society restricting their participation in the adult world, the situation has reversed itself. The administrators felt the schools should help correct this imbalance by increasing opportunities for students to experience the responsibility for making purposeful decisions.

Administrative educational philosophy can be abstracted from a staff development true-false test. "Corporal punishment is at best a poor solution to discipline problems. Schools exist for the personal growth and development of individuals. Skills in logical and critical thinking, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation are tools the youngster collects for use in his personal development. Learning how to learn is more important than mastering factual knowledge, which is always tentative and insecure. Our role is cultivating youngsters' individual autonomy. Capitalizing on the 'teachable moment' is of greater value than planning for instruction."

Decisions were made on an administrative teamwork model in long administrative conferences. The superintendent made only two unilateral decisions without administrative cabinet consensus during a four-year period. The first was in 1975, after the state had legislated that schools must provide for all mentally handicapped children of school age. The cabinet could not agree whether to teach the more severely retarded in their homes, which would save money, or in the schools, which could provide more adequate service. The meeting, which was scheduled to be over at noon, was still in session at four o'clock, when the superintendent declared that instruction would be carried out in the schools. On the second occasion, in 1977, the cabinet asked the superintendent to work out details of a technical problem.

There was considerable indirect evidence that administrators were perceived by teachers as people who had considerable authority.

Personnel matters were handled quietly to protect the careers of the teachers and to avoid controversy within the school. Only one teacher was fired during the first five years of the superintendent's tenure, although personnel turnover was high, and some teachers were forced to resign. Teachers stated that each fall they looked around to see what faces were missing. Some teachers who had business to conduct with principals preferred to do so in the faculty lounge, rather than in the office where they might be suspected of receiving a reprimand. There were nervous jokes in the faculty lounges about administrative authority:

> Teacher: "You are going to give me a good rating this year, aren't you?"
>
> Principal, grinning: "I gave you a good rating last year. You don't expect two in a row, do you?"

There is also considerable indirect evidence that, as recently as 1970, strong but protective leadership was expected of administrators. In 1975 the president of the South Umpqua Educational Association addressed the teachers, "I can remember when the school board and the administration looked after its own, but those days are gone forever, and no amount of wishing is going to bring them back."

In 1973 the school had a policy that all meetings were open to the public except those dealing with personnel matters and real estate transactions. This policy has since become required by state law. Almost no one other than administrators attended administrative meetings. Occasionally a high school student on a research assignment would ask to attend and be cheerfully told that he or anyone else was always welcome. One teacher frequently sat in on administrative meetings.

In 1976 Myrtle Creek and the nearby town of Riddle lost three prominent citizens in a single week. One of these was the long time principal of Myrtle Creek junior high school. The others were a mayor and a retired doctor. A number of school employees attended more than one funeral. Only three women who attended the mayor's funeral wore dresses rather than pants suits. Only two women at the heavily attended funeral for the principal wore pants suits rather than dresses. Teachers explained that they remembered the long hard struggle for the right to wear pants suits in school, and felt it would be disrespectful to wear them to the principal's funeral.

THE FINANCES

Oregon school financing is highly complex and sometimes controversial. The South Umpqua district receives income from four more or less independent sources: local, county, state, and federal. Oregon is one of the few states in the union in which the school district population votes each year on local school taxes. If the levy fails, a local budget committee reconvenes and almost invariably reduces proposal expenditures, and sends it back to the voters, usually on the next state authorized voting date. The levy constitutes perhaps half of total school expenditures. Some sources vaguely stated in public that local school expenditures either were or could become as little as 10% of school costs. Since the budget can be described in many different ways, the 90% non-local figure might have included such things as athletic gate receipts. The audience found the small local tax figure offensive, because it minimized local control, and the 10% figure was not repeated.

The county Intermediate Education District (IED) submits its budget to the voters county-wide each year. If the budget continuously fails, the IED may continue to operate on a budget not more than 6% larger than the year before. The functions of the IED are divided between services and revenue sharing. The IED keeps records for schools in the county, distributes educational films, conducts driver education courses, as well as many other services. Funds remaining after basic support functions are paid are distributed to the poorer or "receiving" school districts in the form of tax relief. If residents in a receiving district vote no on an IED budget, they are voting for higher taxes. The nay votes of wealthier districts with industrial or timber taxes mean the opposite.

For years some tax-poor receiving districts voted against the IED on the theory that a vote against large governmental budgets should be a vote against high taxes. The IED still received no votes in South Umpqua, a receiving district. Some of them are cast on principle by residents who understand the implications of their vote. In 1973 a representative of the IED presented a 40-minute slide show to the Canyonville PTO, explaining the services and the revenue sharing through the

tax rebate functions of the IED. The IED employee himself had difficulty with some of the complex interlocked functions. When he was through, one of the teachers asked, "But doesn't that mean we pay local taxes, and then pay county taxes in addition?" In 1976 a group of businessmen were discussing the upcoming IED election. One prominent citizen noted that, no matter how they voted, the IED could go on expanding its service section, adding employees, and spending more money on itself. The only thing their vote affected was tax rebate. Several businessmen labeled the situation "extortion," claiming that the county was using the threat of higher taxes to promote its own interest.

State funding is complex, but the most discussed aspect is basic school support. The state of Oregon relieves the burden to the local taxpayer by providing fixed financial support on a per pupil basis. Some residents claim that the state is blackmailing the schools by retaining misfits and by reducing support every time a student flunks out. A few parents claim that the system causes better students to drop out of school, thereby costing residents both taxes and education.

Federal funds may be divided into O&C money from a long defunct Oregon and California Railroad, and eclectic "other." After the Civil War the federal government provided generous land grants to encourage construction of a railroad between Oregon and California. The grants, which mainly consisted of, then, almost worthless timberland, proved to be a tax burden to the railroad, which returned them to the government. Since federal lands are not taxable, communities lost revenue on which they had come to depend. The government passed a special O&C bill which still provides the counties with a percentage of federal profits from the former railroad property. The "other" consists of a myriad of often changing grants, ranging from aid to Indian education to facilitator information dissemination grants. Federal funds might change unpredictably, as when layoffs at the mills cause more families to become qualified for free school lunches.

Some taxpayers are disturbed that only a small amount of actual federal funding is shown on the school budget. One budget committee member voted against the levy on principle when he learned that it did not include Experimental Schools and therefore the actual budget of

the schools did not represent the budget presented to the patrons of the community.

Tax revenue varies widely from year to year, depending on such things as the outcome of local and county elections, and stumpage prices received for timber. At least until the end of the school year, discussions of next year's finances are couched in if's and maybe's. Various school funds are recorded in different accounts, or what the contributing agency sometimes calls separate budgets. When school administrators answer questions about school budgets, they often are talking about quite different things. The figures in Tables 3 and 4 are derived from several sources of information provided by the schools to quite different audiences within the district. Note that the figures are not easily comparable. The federal funds, for example, probably refer to local O&C timber revenue.

The locally funded component of school finances may be described from a number of perspectives. A professor of education stressed that the local public does not vote on "the budget," but on "the levy," a portion of the budget. A school without an approved levy does not have a "zero based" budget; rather, it has no voter-approved funds. But there are other monies available sufficient to open school and to keep it running until either the voters do approve sufficient funds, or the available funds are depleted. This latter seemingly unthinkable alternative happened in some Oregon districts in 1976-77 and caused temporary school closures.

Residents of South Umpqua clearly state at election time that they are voting on the budget; that is, the funds upon which the schools are to operate. If the word "levy" is used, it is likely to be taken as a synonym for "budget." When schools opened without a "budget" for the first time, some residents, including teachers, expressed surprise and anger. A typical question was, "Where did they get all that money?" Teaching and administrative salaries come from local revenue, and thus appear as a much larger percentage of the "budget" than they would for total school expenditures.

In theory the public could control the schools by granting or withholding "rewards" without endangering the education of their children. The public had a clear view of what education was, and should

Table 3

Proposed non-Federal Income and Expenditures for South Umpqua School District during 1973-74 School Year

Income		Expenditures	
Category	Amount	Category	Amount
Cash on hand	$ 113,000	Instruction	$1,578,877
IED	292,378	Fixed charges	281,395
State	382,700	Operation	341,843
Federal	10,000	Transportation	173,296
Local	977,466	Administration	62,249
		Maintenance	98,701
		Buildings	37,950
		Equipment	22,043
		Miscellaneous	41,778
Total	$2,375,544	Total	$2,374,832

Table 4

Components of Federal Funding Available to South Umpqua School District during the 1973-74 School Year

Component	Amount
Title I	$ 41,445
Title II	3,924
Title III	170,477
Facilitator	79,808
Experimental Schools	349,811
Total	$645,465

be, and adapted the form of education to that view. In the 1960's, residents could and did argue that the Canyonville high school program was inadequate because the school was too small, and that consolidation would solve the problem. It would have been pointless to argue for consolidation on the grounds that educational advantages might be discovered afterwards.

THE TEACHERS

In 1973 the South Umpqua school district employed about 120 teachers, some of them with district-wide responsibilities. Oregon state law stipulates that teachers are to be rated only on the basis of performance, not on dress, mannerisms, or conduct of private life. The school board and administration have always held to the hiring of what they refer to as "the very best," irrespective of such considerations as whether they are a husband-wife team, native Oregonians, or the like.

A newcomer is almost instantly struck by the great variety of dress and mannerisms among the teachers. Quite a few men habitually wear coats and ties, and women, tweedy business suits. Some teachers wear turtleneck sweaters, sport beards, and cut their own hair every three months. Most teachers seem comfortable with something in between, perhaps a bright open-necked sports shirt and an impressive belt buckle for men, and pants suits and sweaters for women. New male teachers, whether fresh out of college or experienced, usually wear coats and ties to school for the first few months, then gradually begin dressing more casually. With regard to their academic credentials, teachers range from interns (practice teachers) to Ph.D.'s.

As might be expected, teaching styles and academic attitudes vary greatly. The high school principal described the qualities of a good teacher as: "a certain rapport with the students, organization, and knowledge of subject matter. After that, presentation, sequence, response, evaluation, and the rest are subsets." Teachers described each other as "newcomers," "boosters," "involved," and most frequently as "progressive" or "conservative." The results were often surprising. Some of the most adamantly self-proclaimed progressive teachers were the most formally dressed and most likely to resort to corporal punishment. Some of the

most casual teachers who became pals with the students described themselves as conservative or old-fashioned.

Teachers tend to associate with colleagues who are roughly their own age. With this one exception, there is not much evidence of association patterns based on progressive or conservative attitudes. There are many reasons why teachers would prefer to associate with each other. Except for a few who commute 20 miles or more to work, teachers do not lead anonymous personal lives apart from their work. A few elderly teachers, who make a point of attending weddings or funerals of their former students as a social responsibility, retain secure public images gained when the towns were smaller. New teachers are vulnerable to rumors spread by disgruntled students which are not easily confirmed or disconfirmed.

Teachers are of considerable economic benefit to each other. Career education teachers give free estimates on home repair, business administration teachers relate details of Oregon income tax laws, new teachers going to summer school at the University of Oregon purchase books, specialty tobacco, and other items unavailable in the small towns for other teachers. They also have an obvious interest in each other's activities. Some teachers say they still have a special regard for colleagues with whom they went through fall inservice years earlier.

Applying the concepts of "cosmopolitan" and "local" teachers may help in understanding the distinction between progressive and conservative teachers. Cosmopolitans often describe themselves as progressive, while locals often describe themselves as conservative. The chief difference between the two is found in their orientation toward their community (Merton, 1957:393). The local largely confines his interest to his community. Teaching is a means of remaining in an area he or she finds satisfying. The local teacher would resign from the profession rather than take a position in a distant community. Locals are likely to be content with their careers and not seek or may reject upward mobility. At least three conservative teachers in South Umpqua have resigned principalships because they wanted to be back in the classroom.

For the cosmopolitan teachers, the community is the educational community. They subscribe to professional journals, belong to national

organizations, are at ease with professional jargon, maintain tentative relations with the local community, and keep an eye out for opportunities elsewhere. Cosmopolitans may be upwardly mobile, job-switching their way to the top. Cosmopolitan teachers may also be horizontally mobile, keeping job options open in order to avoid being trapped by a change of administration or other circumstances over which they have little control. Some teachers list the opportunity to shift place of employment as one of the advantages of their profession.

To cosmopolitan teachers, to be progressive means remaining current in their profession as an indication of commitment to it. If they settle down and become heavily involved in community life, they may become functionally local, without change in educational philosophy. To local teachers, to be conservative means they are personally committed to the consequences of educational innovation. Selection of new textbooks or other educational improvements may be seen as desirable, but the decision is portentous because they will have to live with it for many years.

Cosmopolitan teachers have more options. They may invest enormous energy in school innovation out of commitment to education. Alternatively, they may easily agree to innovation, but take the results lightly because they know they can abandon the situation if the consequences prove to be undesirable. Innovation in this sense may be initiated by either the teacher or the administration. It would be unfair to classify more than a few teachers as being clearly in one category but lacking in the other. The following is a conversation between two teachers in which their different attitudes are clearly expressed:

> So what if we vote down the (teachers') contract? Coos Bay went to arbitration and got a better package than the teachers asked for.
>
> Yes, but Coos Bay has been behind all along. They were just brought up to state standards.
>
> Four districts in the state have gone to arbitration.
>
> Yes, but except for Coos Bay, they are all small districts. None of the strong districts have contested.
>
> There has never been a teachers' strike in this state. That's why boards think they can tell us to take it or leave it. If we had a strike, think of all the time you could spend fishing.

> If we struck, even if we won, we would have a hassle over negotiations every year. Do you realize how much effort the negotiating team spent this year? I'm all for a better deal, but I want it to put me in the classroom, not take me out.

Teachers' attitudes toward educational innovation may be influenced not only by conservative or progressive philosophies but also their attitudes toward the use of their time. One attitude might be summarized as, "The situation is always infinitely improvable, and therefore we are always infinitely behind." Teachers with this attitude are likely to work prodigiously and nevertheless apologize for not working hard enough. These teachers are usually cosmopolitan, progressive, and highly receptive to educational innovation. They are not likely to have many social commitments other than dedication to the schools, and so there can be little conflict between their professional and private lives.

Another attitude is that the teacher has an agreement with the school to deliver a fixed number of hours of quality education per working day. If an unexpected snowfall or other obstacle delays their arrival at school for an hour, they owe the school an additional hour's work, perhaps a little more for any inconvenience their absence might have caused. The moment their obligations have been fulfilled, they shift roles from educator to non-educator. "When I leave the building in the afternoon, a little switch in my head goes off, and I don't think one thought about the school until I show up the next morning."

If educational assignments require additional time, the teacher might feel that he is being asked to give up valuable personal activities without receiving anything in return. Cosmopolitan teachers may be involved in avocational interests after school, while local teachers may be involved in local organizations or religious activities. There is the possibility of a clash between the sometimes expressed opinion that teachers should not have outside activities, even extra coaching assignments, because they might affect their teaching, and the feeling that personal commitments are also important.

A third attitude is that a teacher is in both a professional and a personal role at all times. If a teacher attends a wedding, a funeral, or a club meeting, it is as a representative of the profession. I mentioned to a teacher, "One thing I am having a hard time getting a

handle on is how many hours of work does teaching actually take?" She replied, "That's a good question. I really don't know how to answer. Take my case, for example. One of my students needs a great deal of special help from his parents. The mother can't come to school because she works during the day, so I counseled her at home during the evening. Now was I working or was I not working?" This type of teacher is likely to be local, in the sense of high involvement in community life. He or she may or may not be responsive to educational innovation.

A fourth attitude toward time is that an infinite, or at least an enormous amount of teaching must be done in a sharply bounded portion of the day. Time lost during the working day is time during which the students are cheated forever. This type of teacher is likely to express extreme skepticism of educational innovation because it requires preparation time away from class, and substitutes projects of doubtful value for one of proven value. Once their skepticism is overcome, they may prove to be very innovative.

The school board and administration, in recruiting teachers who are "the very best," may implicitly be favoring cosmopolitan, progressive teachers. If such is the case, the schools might be selecting teachers who are socially distant from parents and from the public at large and are, therefore, susceptible to rumors which are difficult to refute. There are many complicating factors which make this suggestion difficult to examine. The changing job market has caused teachers, who would prefer to work in cities, to compete for jobs in rural America. The flight from the city movement, referred to in Chapter 3, has been accelerating during the 1970's and draws teachers, as well as the public at large.

THE STUDENTS

In 1973, teachers and administrators were largely left alone by the public to work out solutions to problems of student discipline in manners it found appropriate. The following anecdote illustrated the "hands-off" attitude of some local people toward South Umpqua's schools and the corresponding separation between the schools and other parts of the community.

A young millworker was given a party by his parents on his 19th

birthday. Ten of his friends were invited, but about 60 showed up. A keg of beer and a box of paper cups appeared, and drinking began in spite of the fact that many were too young to drink legally. There was much smoking and the unmistakable smell of marijuana. However, the party was well behaved in that there was no fighting, trampling on the flower beds, or littering of the yard with paper cups. The guests were told they could stay only until midnight, then had to leave, which they did quietly.

I wished the boy happy birthday, shook his hand, and poured myself a beer. He introduced me to several of his friends, one of whom engaged me in conversation.

"What do you do?"

"I'm a researcher. I research schools."

The young man, who was obviously the leader of the group, said, "I was terrible in school. I caused a teacher to resign. They would send me to the principal's office, and instead I went to the john and had a smoke. I was a rotten kid."

Once I had passed inspection by the leader, the others present would talk to me. The next day the mother of the birthday boy related that, after I had gone, the leader came to her and asked who I was. She told him that I was with the schools (a frequent misconception). He then asked, "What's a school person doing hanging around with people like us? Teachers won't have anything to do with us, and this guy had a beer with us."

On a sunny spring day a visitor to the schools is likely to see nicely dressed, obviously contented students engaging in activities. At the grade school, girls are seen skipping rope or playing hopscotch, a mixed group of boys and girls line up to use the slide, boys initiate challenges for impromptu games of tag. At the high school, the scene is one of students weaving their way expertly and purposefully through overcrowded halls to "make the bell" to the next class. Walls are usually covered with signs on butcher paper saying "Sink the Pirates" or "True Blue Sue for Vice President." Cheerleaders generally practice on the front lawn, athletes on practice fields a few hundred yards away.

Students who smoked congregated behind the school in 1973, where,

by almost explicit understanding between them and the teachers, they were not noticed. They repeatedly broke down the fence between the school and the freeway, where they could step out onto county property to smoke off the school grounds but in full view of passing motorists. In 1974 a smoking area was provided in the school vestibule, where they were under greater supervision and where students, whose parents particularly objected, could be excluded. At this writing smokers mostly congregate on Chadwick Lane between the high school and the administration building.

There are no blacks in the schools, and only a few Indians and Chicanos. A proportion of the students are from families which move frequently. About a third of the students qualify for free or reduced-fee lunches. Many parents decline to apply for these benefits, either out of pride, or from calculation that their low income is only a temporary situation.

In ordinary day-to-day conversation, a teacher's classification of students includes "workers," "slow students," "the noisy ones," "dingalings," and "You know who," as in "You know who crashed the gate last night." High school classification includes "jocks," "active students" (politicians), "smokers," "dingbats," and "the strange ones" (hard core delinquents). One might expect a richer vocabulary, since there are many visible signs of access to power, such as cars driven to school by students who do not have to ride the bus, but students themselves often show confusion as to how to describe each other. Students often claim not to know or associate with students outside their circle of friends. One justification teachers give for field trips is to acquaint students, even seniors, with each other.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS MODELS

Schools were seldom mentioned in the community, even in formal organizational meetings which were starved for agenda. When individuals were asked about the school system, they were quite likely to reply, "Schools, why I don't know anything about the schools. Ask Jenny, she has children in school," or "Well, there is this Mrs. Hamerfinder; I don't think she has rapport with the students," or "Are you a new teacher or something?" It became apparent much later that there were certain individuals who maintained a detailed interest in the schools, at least

for their municipality. These included former school board members, individuals who had been organizational leaders during the consolidation years, many merchants, some ministers, and some old-timers, who kept tabs on the community in general. Many people more or less implicitly delegated authority to knowledgeable residents to assure them that things were going well.

However, there was also much evidence of school-community interaction. Calendars on the walls of barber shops, restaurants, and other businesses, listed the dates and teams the high school would play that year. As the dates passed, scores were written in the blank spaces beside the team names.

The Myrtle Creek Mail carried 6 to 15 items of school news in each issue, several of them on the front page. The news was mostly either reference, such as listing upcoming events, or upbeat, as in describing the success of a school open house. The story of an imaginative school teacher who used a Volkswagen body in his classroom as a learning center was in the upbeat category. The story, along with photographs, was picked up and reprinted by the county paper, The Roseburg News-Review.

The Boosters Club, a formal organization to promote the athletic program, met monthly in the high school, kept detailed evaluations of team prospects, and raised money for athletic uniforms and other desirable objectives.

Formal school-community interaction included high school graduations, which were held in the gym with capacity attendance; open houses for parents; father-son and mother-daughter banquets; awards banquets; school plays; and band concerts. Students raised funds for school activities by managing booths at Pioneer Days and Wood'n'Nickel Days. Some parents who had several children complained that the schools made too many demands on their time. In contrast to these highly attended activities, school board, budget board, coordinating council, and PTO meetings were only lightly attended in 1973.

The public evaluated the schools according to four different models. The first model is that the school administration is a source of public power; it sponsors candidates for office, uses political leverage to get streets paved, and uses the threat of higher taxes to ram through

policy changes. In the past the school has used the threat of discontinuing bus routes to persuade the county to pave roads, an action that especially benefitted Tri-City, which had many rutted dirt roads and no road-mending resources. In 1974 two of three candidates for mayor of Myrtle Creek were teachers. One, a tall soft-spoken shop teacher, won handily. The runner-up was a young progressive bearded English teacher, who had been promoted to staff improvement director under ES. The school is said to have come under some criticism for "sponsoring that hippie."

This model is, I believe, rarely invoked in the day-to-day workings of school-community interactions. The possibility is well enough recognized so that it is understood after only a brief allusion. At a school board meeting, an angry voter accused a board member of asking, "How many children do you have in school?" The board member instantly replied, "I never made any such statement!" After further exchange it became clear that the board member was being accused of threatening retaliation against the students for their parents' use of freedom of speech.

A second model of the school is that it is a publicly owned resource to be used at the taxpayers' convenience like a county library or a city park. I encountered only a few instances of this model in practice. Once, when the Canyonville Volunteer Fire Department was testing its hoses on the school playground, I casually asked one of the firemen what procedure they had gone through to arrange the use of the school property. "It's our damned school," he replied, without looking up. In another instance, a school's duplicating machine was used to copy a list of winners during the 1975 Wood'n'Nickel Days parade.

The most frequent clash between the "Schools are ours to use as we will" model and other models involves parents visiting their children during school hours. One of several charges leveled against the administration in a long-drawn-out grievance hearing was that a principal had not prevented parents from verbally abusing a teacher in the school building. Each year the school board reviews the school policy handbook. The only disagreement between the board and the administration I have noted during such a review was over a proposed statement that visitors to the school should report to the principal. "I don't know if I go for

that," one particularly strong supporter of the administration noted. "We have always had a policy of open doors, where everyone is welcome." The superintendent stressed that the intention was not to make parents feel unwelcome but to let the principal know who was in the building. "But that's a put down," the board member continued. "The principal is on the phone. The visitor has to sit and be quiet. That's a put down." The superintendent explained that the absence of written directives weakened the principal's legal authority to order intruders out of the school. He gave an example from another school district where an insurance salesman had refused an order to leave and later sued the school. A principal, who has a reputation for protecting teachers, stated that at least once a year he is faced with the situation of parents who are involved in custody disputes wanting to visit their children in school. The high school principal brought up the obvious example of students who had graduated or dropped out wanting to hang around their friends. In the end, it was decided to require visitors to check into the office before going to other parts of the school.

The problem of unwelcome visitors is small compared to that of attracting parents with legitimate concerns to the school. Parents often feel that they have no place in the schools and parents are embarrassed to enter the school building. Several parents described the school as a place where parents are asked to come if their children have misbehaved. Parental participation in school activities is sometimes difficult to elicit; some parents take their children out of athletics or other programs if they need to provide transportation.

A third model of the school system is that of a festive resource, roughly equivalent to Pioneer Days or Wood'n'Nickel Days. Numerous studies hold that formally structured ceremonies function partly to maintain social distance, while spontaneity, improvisation, odd behavior, or humorous self-effacement reduce such distance. Stories told by old-timers imply that athletic events once satisfied the second need. High school games were major community events, and interest was indicated by such actions as public weeping and fist fights on the sidelines. Such loss of control still occurs occasionally but is not encouraged. The annual high school Oktoberfest, the Tri-City elementary school circus,

and the Myrtle Creek PTO chili feed consciously stress a carefree atmosphere. The annual fund-raising basketball games are another example. The first event is a donkey basketball game, where the student team on one side is matched against teachers and principals on the other, all mounted on donkeys. The second event is a game between the girls' team and the Boosters Club, the men dressed as overpainted buxom women. The audience is mostly composed of high school students.

I know of only one instance which might be called grass roots community participation in a festive school event. A track coach organized a fund-raising effort for an all-weather track in which organizations sponsoring runners would pay the fund according to the number of laps they ran. The event was conducted in a lighthearted manner. Soft drinks were sold. Some of the Lions Club runners appeared in outlandish costumes, such as pink shorts with white ruffles. School personnel also made the most of the occasion, inventing ingenious gimmicks to increase interest. One elderly female teacher approached me for a contribution of thirty-five cents for each lap she walked in one hour. An elaborate show was made of keeping exact score, and faltering runners were cheered on. In the meantime, inflation had driven the price of artificial turf out of sight. No all-weather track has yet been laid, and further efforts to raise funds for the project have been largely ignored.

Most of the many school activities to which the public is invited are highly structured, such as commencement, concerts, and plays. If the crowd gets too boisterous, an extremely embarrassed principal has to ask them to tone it down.

The fourth popular model of the school, as has already been implied, is that it is something autonomous and apart from the community. The school keeps the community's children in a highly moral environment for most of the working day, educates them, and returns them in the evening. The school does not infringe upon or trouble the public, and in turn the community provides financial support. One resident provided the following anecdote based on this model: "The principal called me into his office and told me that Billy was one-half a credit short for graduation. A half a credit from graduation. I'll tell you, I hit the ceiling!

I told him, 'You have had him all this time, while I assumed you were keeping records. I did my part. I sent my boy to high school in clean underwear and clean socks every day for four years, and I expect him to graduate on time." This informant is a conscientious attendant at classroom parties, athletic events, school parades, or anything else where parental participation is requested. She views her school-related activities as support for her children by showing interest in what they do, not as input into school policy, and expresses her satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the schools at levy time: "I am going to vote no on every school budget until they bring the superintendent's salary down to $12,000 a year."

The school as a separate entity is probably the most frequently held model in the district. Voters may not take a creative role in managing the schools because of their confidence in the system, their confidence in overseers of the system, their respect for delegated authority, or their not having children in school and therefore not feeling influenced by it.

In the above models, the school system is viewed as a publicly financed organization, which must be placed in a cosmos of such organizations ranging from the city council to the state highway department. Attitudes of residents toward the educational (as opposed to the organizational) function seem to be much more diffuse. Most parents appear to listen attentively to teachers, much as they might listen to a dentist or other expert on matters of importance. Frequently, parents' evaluations of the quality of the schools are induced from how well their own children are doing. If a student does poorly in school, or well in school but later does poorly in college, then all of the students are suspected of being short-changed.

Local residents held various attitudes toward educational innovation. Perhaps the one most frequently expressed was summed up by a teacher who explained, "Parents know there are better ways to educate kids than they experienced when they went to school, but there are worse ways also, and that makes them gun shy of new programs." One influential citizen suspected that the ES funds would be "just frittered away."

Using the power base model of the schools, he described ES as a political strategy on the part of the superintendent: "I remember when superintendents held down their jobs by building buildings. They told the school board they had to stay on because, you know, changing horses in mid-stream. Well, the buildings are all built. Now the superintendent gets a five-year research contract." In contrast, another citizen supported the use of federal funds because it allowed the schools to provide education of a certain standard in a district in which there was always the possibility that the annual levy would fail. He refuted the argument of other people who said the use of federal funds would entail the loss of local control. "I tell them, 'You don't vote on the post office budget every year.'"

There is a strong possibility that some of the "reward" the voters grant the schools by passing untrimmed budgets is associated with recognition of teachers as valued social resources. The poise, scholarship, vocabulary, and other desirable qualities of a good teacher also make him or her highly attractive to clubs, churches, and other formal organizations. In addition, teachers might have training in library science, accounting, coaching, journalism, or other valuable skills which are likely to be in short supply in rural communities.

It may be that the need for teachers as social resources is increasing, as formal organizations proliferate, and increasing regional grouping creates needs for Boy Scout leaders, church lay readers, club secretaries, city business consultants, librarians, and other extracurricular, but useful, activities. However, the growing emphasis on the pursuit of graduate educational careers and the increased recruitment of teachers from cities where their special training may not have been appreciated may also be creating a gap between need and fulfillment.

SUMMARY

South Umpqua can be seen in many ways as a typical rural American school district. Some of its attributes which made it more unique were a high number of teachers with masters' or doctoral degrees and state championship athletic teams. Supplementary outside funding compensated for a limited source of local tax revenue per pupil but was not made

highly visible to the public by the administration.

Both the school system and the district as a whole were undergoing rapid change. The schools had gone from deficient to more than adequate in five years, and the administration was pursuing opportunities for further improvement. The wider community was undergoing an increase in population, and as it did so, communication, leadership, and public involvement in decision-making assumed a wider base. In addition, those students who might have rejected both the schools and rural values by drifting off to the cities, thereby leaving the system unchallenged, were remaining. It was under these circumstances that the school administration applied for Experimental School funds.

CHAPTER FIVE, EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS: THE PLANNING YEAR

At the time that South Umpqua applied for federal funds from the Experimental Schools programs the district had been experiencing four years of forced-pace rapid change. The schools were receiving the highest accreditations allowable by law. Supporters and critics of the school alike agreed that administrative leadership had been vigorous, as well as in line with previous tradition of innovation that was usually initiated by the administration and assisted by university professors or other experts. The fact that the administration had never lost a budget election in contrast to massive defeats during previous administrations suggests public support for the model of "running a tight ship."

Earlier, the district had received a federal grant under a program called School Renewal. An unexpected lull developed when a federal court ruled that the funds could not be distributed without further Congressional action. During this period, a flyer crossed the superintendent's desk, inviting the district to apply for Experimental Schools funds to improve its schools. Guidelines for the program included the ability of the district to sustain activities begun under ES after federal funds ran out, and community involvement in planning activities. Funds were not to be used to construct buildings or to finance basic minimal educational requirements. The school board routinely granted the administration authority to apply for the grant. The superintendent, vice superintendent, and coordinator of federal programs rented a motel room by the Pacific Ocean, where, over a period of days, they organized a letter of interest.

The awarding of a grant to South Umpqua occurred just before the end of the 1971-72 school year. The local announcement of the award appeared on the lower left side of the front page of the Myrtle Creek Mail, under a small headline: "School Awarded Government Contract." The paper presented the story as routine news. Most of the teachers were away during the next few months at summer school or in summer employment.

Most teachers recall having heard rumors of the coming Experimental Schools project, but were not at all sure what it involved until the reopening of school. However, during the summer the superintendent did meet with groups of parents, in their homes, to discuss the project.

The award of the grant was officially announced to the faculty at the first orientation day before the opening of school. After the ES program was explained, a teacher stood up and accused the superintendent of making the decision without consulting the faculty. The vice superintendent recalled that, having been caught off guard by the challenge, he replied "perhaps a little lamely" that there was not the opportunity to involve the faculty because the decision had to be made at the end of the school year. Two other teachers jumped to their feet, challenging the answer on the grounds that the administration had made unilateral decisions in the past. The superintendent defended the action taken by pointing out that the school board had authorized the administration to take appropriate action, and though it would have been better to have assembled the faculty, since that couldn't be done the decision still had to be made. The teachers continued their challenges, while the superintendent stuck to his defense.

Several teachers recalled that the challengers appeared to be speaking for a number of the faculty but not necessarily all. There did not seem to have been any formal organized protest. One administrator explained to me that decisions of this kind had traditionally been made at the administrative level. He also agreed that it "was an unfortunate scene, a most unfortunate scene."

Teachers said the source of their anger was that their expectations for a routine year were not to be realized. The school had eliminated its deficiencies, and the atmosphere of "save the schools" was no longer necessary. The teachers' hope for a pleasant year was shattered by a demand for more work. Eventually, however, most teachers accepted the new situation.

The first year Experimental Schools funds were to be spent on four project components: Planning, Staff Development, The Store Front, and Coordinating Council.

Planning

Although the South Umpqua School District had received from the Experimental Schools program in Washington, D.C. (ES/Washington) a verbal commitment for five years of funding, the initial grant award was for only the first year, a year to be devoted primarily to the planning of the full project. In order to carry out such planning the faculty was divided into five stream committees, each of which was subdivided into as many planning committees, building committees, review committees, and ad hoc committees as possible. An Experimental Schools Coordinating Council was formed, members being chosen from prominent residents, teachers, and three high school students. Hundreds of meetings were held. Many committees met in the administrative complex. Meetings were remembered as often being emotionally charged, with some women teachers nearly bursting into tears. The superintendent met with the assembled faculty of each building regularly, soliciting ideas. Much discussion centered around two questions: should mentally handicapped students be integrated into the classroom, and should the grading system be retained? Both of these questions had been issues before the Experimental Schools project and did not represent new input.

A group of teachers visited the Franklin Pierce district in Tacoma, Washington, one of five urban Experimental Schools projects, a visit recalled as largely a waste of time. A professor of English composition from Southern Oregon College was hired to oversee the drafting of the formal plan required by ES/Washington as a condition for continual funding. A research assistant was employed on a full-time basis.

Teachers were given release time for the efforts they contributed to the planning stage. Many teachers objected strenuously to turning their students over to substitute teachers, and many parents complained that the quality of instruction was deteriorating. Some teachers refused to write proposals on the ground that they would be working in a vacuum. Without knowing the context of the entire plan, composing portions of it seemed meaningless. However, in spite of the stress of disruption and the press for time, over 70 proposals were submitted.

A quick first draft was rushed through processing for the benefit of the teachers, just before Christmas vacation. Quite a few teachers are said not to have read the proposal; others read over those sections which affected them directly, and, not recognizing their own contributions, put the document aside.

There were several problems with the proposal. Some proposals from teachers simply asked for additional equipment for already existing programs. Uniform treatment throughout the district had always been a politically sensitive issue. If the Myrtle Creek junior high principal requested and received new wrestling mats, for example, it was predictable that the Canyonville principal would argue forcefully for new mats also. Under these conditions, a teacher's proposal in one school might turn out to be an administrator's imposition in another school. Similarly, school personnel thought that demands made of teachers in carrying out innovation at any grade level and for any program, such as music or special education, should be made of all teachers.

The administration was under a bind of attempting to maximize its efforts to meet backbreaking time deadlines while using democratic methods. Administrators were aware that the democratic process was slow and painful, and, although necessary, was not without cost. However, the chance to obtain sizeable funds for school improvement was seen as a tremendous opportunity by the administration, and no effort was spared to increase the chance of success. The district had received only a planning grant; it perceived itself as still being in competition for actual school improvement funds. If comprehensiveness and teacher participation were expected, then school administrators felt that more comprehensiveness and utmost teacher participation would give competitive advantage. On the faculty side, many teachers stated that they felt that the resulting document had been cut from whole cloth, and that their efforts had been merely a "smoke screen."

The administration and its specially hired writing staff had phrased the first submission in the most technical possible terms, apparently in an effort to maximize funding possibilities by demonstrating professionalism. The result was an almost unreadable 130 page document. When I first appeared at the Myrtle Creek City Council and explained my purpose

for being in the area, one of the councilmen remarked, "Oh, you mean that tome from the schools."

The superintendent had made an effort to explain the program to the public during the previous summer when time was available. Less effort was made during the school year, partly because of the press of other activities and partly because of the relationship between the superintendent and the local community. In South Umpqua a statement made by a superintendent is a contract. On the one hand, if the contract is broken, as when the superintendent promised not to have football games on Thursday nights and then did not oversee the next year's scheduling sufficiently, he may receive good natured joshing. On the other hand, if he explains his position but then changes his mind or receives altered outside instructions, he must, in effect, renegotiate the situation with the school board, the teachers, or other interested parties. At the time of the signing of the Experimental Schools grant document, the nature of the assignment, the method of its being researched, and the district's own goals were still evolving. Explaining such a situation required a great deal of effort, especially when yes or no answers were required but the best answer was "It all depends." Examples included whether the school district could cancel its participation in Experimental Schools (it could, but to plan that way would be to invite failure), and how much outside interference would be forthcoming (nobody knew).

When my wife and I arrived in South Umpqua in February of 1973, preparation of the ES plan document was almost complete. I had the opportunity of sitting in on the last school building staff meeting on the subject. Teachers seemed reluctant to offer suggestions in spite of repeated requests from the superintendent that input was welcome. After several such requests, he noted that some of the schools had expressed concern about integration of the mentally handicapped into the classroom. This brought out first a few, then quite a number, of responses. "When I taught in California we integrated the classrooms, and the progress the handicapped students made was just remarkable." "Where I student taught we had the handicapped students separately half a day and with all the other students half a day. It worked out fairly well." "Teaching the handicapped requires special skills most of us haven't had the training for." The meeting ended inconclusively, and I did not hear discussion of it afterward.

The superintendent, in describing the Experimental Schools project up to that point, stated that he would have never gotten involved with it if he had known the problems it would cause. "It's a little like having gone through a war," he explained. "I feel I am a better man for it, but I would never want to do it again, and I wouldn't recommend it to anyone."

Staff Development

Each Tuesday a professor of education drove up from Southern Oregon College in Ashland to conduct a class for administrators. Enrollment included the superintendent, vice superintendent, coordinator of federal programs, evaluator, research assistant, building principals, and high school department heads. The purpose of the class was to develop a philosophy of education, to improve leadership skills, and to attain consensus among administrators. Subject matter varied from highly practical matters and handling situations where highly talented teachers had to be assigned unpopular tasks such as teaching slow learners, to highly abstract philosophies and dilemmas such as the value of teaching practical skills rather than attitudes.

The class might also have been considered an example of the type of education the administration wanted to see generalized to the school system as a whole. Discussion was lively; contributions from the "students" were welcome. The professor directed the flow of ideas gently by input and questions, but the course was allowed to proceed generally at its own speed. He might begin a class with a statement such as, "Gentlemen, last week we agreed that values were essential to leadership, but we couldn't agree on a definition of 'value.' Today I would like to continue that discussion. What is a value? What are its component parts?" The next week the professor handed around a mimeographed analysis of the concepts of value he had abstracted from the discussion and asked the class to judge whether he had a reasonable grasp of its attitudes.

At the end of the school year, the college professor asked the staff development class to evaluate him formally for his college record. The evaluations were uniformly high.

The Store Front

The Store Front was a high school business enterprise which rented an unused building on the main street of Myrtle Creek as a commercial outlet for student crafts. It was a new addition to the career education curriculum, which included on-the-job training and the construction of houses by the school carpentry class with the consent of the carpenter's union. The Store Front was the most visible example of the ES project to the public. The students who ran it were friendly and helpful, but they had almost no stock on the shelves. A few candles, some agate jewelry, resin castings, and leather crafts made up most of the stock on display. There were almost no customers.

Comments about the Store Front in the community were almost uniformly critical. It was called a waste of taxpayers' money and students' time. The school was said to have been careless in the selection of the building, as it was not worth the rent, and another empty store down the street could be had for half the price. One school board member visited the staff development class and mentioned that the business community expected the schools to turn out skilled craftsmen it could hire, not potential competitors.

A great deal of discussion went on in the administrative building about how the project might be saved. The high school principal stated that he did not encourage his students to add more craft objects because that would mean going into competition with established businesses. For similar reasons, the enterprise could not market goods made by senior citizens or other special groups. The decision to close the store was put off for several months until budget cuts in the ES funds forced the issue.

The Coordinating Council

Each federal program in South Umpqua, such as Title I, Title III, etc., is overseen by its own citizens' coordinating council. The 18-member Experimental Schools Coordinating Council was recruited early in the planning year from residents nominated by principals and other administrators

at central office meetings. Membership changed somewhat over the years but always included representatives of business, the press, housewives, mill workers, and three high school students.

There were several different approaches to recruitment of council members. One approach was based on the idea that the committee should represent a cross section of the community. The committee cheerfully discussed what delightful people the students, who seldom attended, were, and how refreshing it was to get their insights.

Another approach sought to recruit members who were particularly interested in the schools. To be either a strong supporter or critic of the schools was a sure way to be nominated to a committee. At one point the elected chairman of a citizens' protest movement was also president of the ES Coordinating Council. Several times over the years members made statements such as, "When I first heard of Experimental Schools, I thought it was a federal rip off, but now I can see its value."

A third approach was through self-recruitment based on compatibility. When two housewives attended a meeting to become informed, they were immediately asked by the council to join, and were accepted on the spot. I regularly sat in on the meetings and was surprised to see my name included in the minutes as a member.

The administration went to great lengths to respond to the needs of the council. At least one administrator, usually the director of federal programs, was present at each monthly meeting. Slide shows and other presentations were prepared. Principals regularly gave building reports. The council was taken on tours of the schools to see Experimental Schools project activities in operation.

The ES Coordinating Council was highly supportive of the project. If student test scores turned out to be less than hoped for, the Council was likely to question the validity of the tests rather than of the project. However, members often questioned the purpose of the Council. They sometimes described themselves as "window dressing," or stated that "Our only function is to educate the public." The administration, in fact, was extremely solicitous of council input. The slightest criticism of the schools was sure to be followed by long staff meetings the next day, and a detailed report on action taken was made at the next council session.

The problem of role ambiguity was especially severe the first year, when the persistent question, "What is Experimental Schools?" could not be answered because the long-term contract was still being negotiated, and the administration never criticized a funding or regulatory body in public. At the last council meeting of the year, the long-term ES contract had finally been signed, and the administration had prepared an elaborate explanatory presentation, with the superintendent, vice superintendent, director of federal programs, and the evaluator each presenting different topics. Only two members of the council showed up. There was discussion about whether or not to hold the meeting. The superintendent thought that there were certain benefits in including information in the minutes, so a two-hour explanatory session was held for a small audience.

TEACHERS' AND RESIDENTS' ATTITUDES

Public Reaction

During the planning year, few residents seemed to know about Experimental Schools. Those who did expressed the attitude that they were glad their tax dollars were finally being spent locally. But more frequently, when I asked residents about ES, most of them either had never heard of it or thought it was connected with the highly successful Title I and Title III projects. Title III was especially popular in the area, since it involved sending paraprofessional teacher aides (called coordinators) into the homes of residents with preschool children to teach rudimentary skills, such as matching colors and shapes and recognizing letters. The coordinators were carefully trained in workshops and participated in regular planning sessions on the personal skills of making themselves welcome. Residents rather often asked teachers or other knowledgeable people if ES had anything to do with the preschool program, with the implication that they hoped it did. A typical question might be, "Experimental Schools, that's what the preschool program is called, isn't it?"

One aspect of the Title III program worked to the disadvantage of a smooth introduction of Experimental Schools. Many families expect candid honesty to be a required quality of a guest in their homes and coordinators, therefore, received more pointed questions about the schools than did other school personnel. Several coordinators recalled being asked over and over, "What is this Experimental Schools thing I hear about?" When the coordinators answered honestly that they didn't know, they were repeatedly told, "They don't want you to know."

The Title I program, designed to aid the disadvantaged, affected fewer parents, but they were among the most enthusiastic supporters of ES. A typical comment was, "If your job has anything to do with that federal reading program, I'm all for it. My boy is reading for the fun of it for the first time in his life."

Criticism of the introduction of ES took an enormous variety of forms. The word "Experimental" was dynamite. Frequently heard comments included: "I don't want my children experimented on." "What experiments are they conducting?" "Dea, you should explain to the people that the program is the experiment, not the children."

Some residents suspected that the administration had dishonest motives in applying for the federal funds. For example, the original grant included a $10,000 bonus for the superintendent to insure continuity in administration. The superintendent accepted half of that in lieu of a salary increase and budgeted the other half in a special fund for sending school board members to conventions. The bonus was later negotiated out of the grant at the insistence of ES/Washington. The fact that he was to have received a bonus was interpreted by some that he was willing to sell out the students for cash. Other critics heard that a great deal of federal money was flowing into the school district but could see few visible consequences. They interpreted the discrepancy by thinking that someone was secreting the funds. Still other critics feared that the administration was using the development of what they called "gaudy" or "unworkable" programs to gain personal professional recognition and to then leave the district to hold the bag.

In spite of the differences in residents' objections to the new project, certain patterns can be recognized. If a critic had previously objected to school innovation because he was afraid of higher

taxes or because he placed a high value on a traditional education that enforced strict discipline, it was likely that he would continue to do so for the same reasons. If the critic was a businessman or professional person, knowledgeable about general events, he might describe the program as a bureaucratic boondoggle. A statement from then President Nixon that the welfare system enriched the distributors of welfare without benefitting the poor provided a model of analysis. By explicit analogy, federal aid to education was said to enrich the schools without benefitting the students. A critic such as a retired teacher or a parent who was active in the PTO, who was knowledgeable about schools but less so on larger related subjects, would probably say something like, "When are they going to give the teachers a chance to teach?"--the implication being that activities such as field trips were associated with more festive occasions such as Halloween parties. If a critic was less knowledgeable about either national policies or school activities, he would likely find fault with the school for the quality of its product. Incorrect change made by young waitresses, difficulty in completing job application forms, or the tardiness of new employees were especially noted and discussed as evidence that the schools were going downhill.

Teachers' Attitudes

There was widespread evidence of teacher dissatisfaction with working conditions during the planning year. Although teachers sometimes angrily recalled the first months of ES more than a year after its introduction, their dissatisfaction with education in South Umpqua was more frequently focused on the lack of student discipline, especially cigarette and marijuana smoking in the schools. In South Umpqua concern with the discipline problem is a symptom of disapproval of the schools in general.

Part of the teacher reaction to student discipline may be related to the changing role of teachers in the community. Young adults, who have grown up in the area, recall that teachers used to be placed on pedestals. At church socials, or other occasions, teachers were seated by themselves as special people. As special people, teachers who were given unpopular directives were expected to carry on like "good soldiers." But during

the ensuing years the role of the teacher has become increasingly self-defined, and teachers have become more aggressive in improving their working conditions. The ES grant came at about the time when teachers were developing what the professional literature calls "militancy" and what younger teachers especially call "greater awareness of our rights."

Concerned Citizens for Education

Meanwhile, by January of 1973, local residents also were beginning to express their political power by organizing around the issue of student discipline. Ironically, it was a teacher who set the spark for the movement. One afternoon a teacher phoned a logger's wife in South Myrtle and said the schools were endangering the health of the students. If parents were concerned for the welfare of their children, they had better do something about it, fast.

Friends called acquaintances, and a meeting of about 20 parents was held in the logger's home. A second meeting resulted in an attendance of 40 people. At a meeting in March, about 120 people were present. Chairs were set out and coffee was served, but the organization was entirely informal. The high school principal represented the administration.

The audience seemed to consist mainly of laborers and their families, retired people, and a few school teachers. Several members appeared embarrassed to speak in public. The principal was friendly and highly articulate. About half way through the meeting, a local minister, the only member of the audience wearing a suit and tie, strode to the front, turned to the group, and said he didn't want to take over, but he did have a few suggestions. He thought that the group needed a formal organization with a name, elected officers and a plan for recruiting new members.

The group chose the name "Concerned Citizens for Education" (CCE). A formal governing panel of five members was elected. The instigator of the new direction accepted a position on the panel on the condition that he would be allowed to resign if subsequently he was elected to the school board. Other panel members included a retired teacher, a housewife, a repairman, and another teacher.

The next suggestion was to propose a list of goals the organization hoped to accomplish. Suggestions came rapidly: closer association with the teachers, a return to the three Rs, clarification of the budget, more authority for teachers. The ES project was mentioned briefly under the goal of clarifying the administrative structure. Someone said, "If we are the poorest district in the state, why are there so many administrators? It seems like everything in Experimental Schools is being spent on personnel." It came up again when a parent demanded that the school educate them about the meaning of ES. The next contributor asked that they be allowed to see the ES budget, and the next thought ES should be presented to the public in a manner lay people could comprehend. Another goal was to determine how much emphasis should be placed on athletics. In all, about 40 goals were suggested from the floor. ES was only a peripheral topic, but teachers, administrators, and members of CCE have since spontaneously commented that it was the new federal project which had gotten the people stirred up.

The last item of business was to find a place to meet the following month. The Grange hall could be used if it were available at the time. The new president offered his church. The principal offered the high school. Someone from the floor sharply rejected the principal's offer. "We'll have our own meeting." What had started out as a slow meeting ended in an atmosphere of enthusiasm.

The new leader of the organization was a young minister who had been sent to the area five years earlier. As far as I know, this was the first time a local religious practitioner had taken a leadership role in a social reform movement, a type of event which has since become frequent in movements that either support or criticize the schools.

The CCE drew up a questionnaire to find our what people actually thought about the schools. The campaign was announced in the newspaper, and questionnaires were left in stores and other businesses. Those who completed the forms were asked to sign their names to eliminate duplication, and the names were methodically cut out and discarded before the answers were tallied. Only 80 questionnaires were returned, and few conclusions could be drawn from the results. Reasons given for not responding to the questionnaire included: people didn't know about it, it inconvenienced

them, they were not about to sign their names to anything, and they didn't know enough about the schools to answer intelligently.

The organization demanded and received time on the school board agenda. The selected meeting was moved to the high school library from the administrative offices to accommodate a larger than normal audience. The encounter with the committee lasted about an hour and consisted mostly of answering charges by explaining school practices. The first charge revolved around an agreement, made when the school districts consolidated in 1964, that high school students would not be allowed to take their cars out of the parking lot during school hours. Now students were seen driving around town all day. Had that agreement been revoked, and, if so, by whose authority?

The high school principal explained that the agreement had not been revoked, but it had been somewhat amended. Since consolidation the school had adopted an on-the-job training program. Students enrolled in that program were allowed to drive to work. Students caught driving during the day under other circumstances lost their privilege of bringing their cars to school.

As each hostile question was brought up, the administration either explained it as a misconception or appealed for greater community cooperation in bringing about requested improvements. The CCE did not send further committees to school board meetings.

Attendance at subsequent CCE meetings declined steadily. At the last meeting of the year, the 12 members in attendance voted to suspend meeting for the summer and to accept the principal's offer of the high school for a meeting place the following fall. Attendance picked up in the fall, but the organization became inactive before the end of the calendar year.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH ES/WASHINGTON

The administration's assumption that the planning phase was nearly over was premature. Officials from ES/Washington were scheduled to arrive during April of 1973 to discuss the forthcoming long-term contract and the ES project plan upon which it would be based. There was

considerable apprehension among administrators. At one point the superintendent remarked to his staff, "I have always had to work with bare bones resources. It is a failure of mine. For once in my life I would like to have enough room to maneuver."

During the morning of the conference day the rest of the administrative staff sat silently while officials from Washington met with the superintendent. About ten o'clock the officials entered the room, were introduced by the superintendent, and stated that the level of ES funding requested by South Umpqua would be reduced. The South Umpqua submission to ES/Washington was a proposal, not a plan; it was too ambitious; it was more than the school could deliver or the community could tolerate; it did not sound like South Umpqua.

The visiting team met with the school board during lunch hour. One board member kept insisting that the plan be revised according to ES/Washington's preferences no matter what the South Umpqua administration implied. "Tell us what you want and that's what we'll do. If you want it written in red ink, we'll write it in red ink. If you want it in green ink, we'll write it in green ink."

More meetings were held that afternoon and again that evening, until almost midnight. A glimpse of the dialogue is provided by the following example:

> Superintendent: "Could you give us some idea of how much of a reduction we should be thinking about?"
>
> ES/Washington Official: "You are to be congratulated for working on the basis of the needs of the school. In other schools, if they are offered five million dollars, they present a five-million dollar plan. If they are offered one million dollars, they present a one-million dollar plan. You should plan in terms of school needs, not in terms of dollars available."
>
> Another administrator: "Does that mean that if we can demonstrate that we can pull it off, the funds will not be reduced?"
>
> ES/Washington Official: "The funds will be reduced."

Late that evening one member of the visiting team said that the plan should be written in such a way that local residents could understand it, "It is as if a doctor could not prescribe a cure to a patient in a way the patient could follow and be cured." The superintendent replied,

"To use your analogy, I did not feel I was writing to the patient. I felt I was writing to the American Cancer Society. Extremely specific language was necessary."

Long meetings began the next morning on how to scale down and reorganize the plan document. Eventually the administration reduced the project by eliminating items which were least favored by the voting public. The Store Front was closed, a proposed day care center was eliminated, and a student operated radio station was cut out. However, one principal had warned that reorganization according to public support would result in a "retreat to the four walls of the classroom."

Replanning and rewriting the plan document were done primarily by administrative personnel. Meetings and writing sessions continued around the clock. The coffee perculator was operated continuously. There were frequent trips to the Tri-City Market for doughnuts and other snacks. Some people slept on the carpet. The mood was upbeat, intimate, almost festive.

The deadline for submission of the revised plan was before the next normal school board meeting. The superintendent requested approval of the plan in advance but was refused. A special noon hour meeting of the board was held in a restaurant; the revised plan document was approved and mailed to ES/Washington immediately after lunch.

THE FINAL PLAN

The final four-year plan which was subsequently accepted by ES/Washington consisted of a 126 page document entitled "South Umpqua Experimental Schools Project: Person-Centered Educational Process." The revised budget was for 1.1 million dollars, roughly half of what had originally been requested from ES/Washington. The major thrust was individualized instruction, and the primary means was to be development of an instructional attitude at all levels: administration, faculty, and classified employees. However, goals and means were hard to quantify for contract fulfillment purposes.

The meanings of the components of South Umpqua's ES project were defined in practice over several years. Components changed somewhat over time as sub-components grew and became autonomous, or declined and were

incorporated into other sections. Names of components sometimes changed, not by administrative decision, but by report writers who would coin new terms to describe a current situation.

The following approximate list of components, plus brief descriptions, has been organized from several slightly overlapping reports.

1. Staff Development included a large number of activities involving increased teacher and administrator professionalism, to be achieved by means of seminars, workshops, visitations to other schools, etc.

2. Evaluation increased responsibility of the evaluation staff in ascertaining the effectiveness of both the ES project and other programs.

3. People and Technology was a package program to replace the existing sixth grade social studies curriculum, which had been a study of Latin America.

4. Media Centers were to diversify libraries by creating more adaptable and versatile instructional environments.

5. Friday Electives gave students the opportunity to sample subjects outside the normal curriculum. Non-paid patrons from the community were to instruct grade school and junior high school students two hours a week in areas of their special expertise.

6. Cultural Enrichment included a variety of projects intended to acquaint students of all ages with experiences in the fine arts.

7. Field Experiences included a number of projects ranging from field trips to studying science outdoors.

8. School Entry Assessments were learning profiles of incoming students which were based upon formal achievement testing.

9. Tutoring involved the use of parents, high school students, and others to assist teachers in helping individual students.

10. Learning Stations were an innovation in the use of space. Classroom and playgrounds were to be adapted for concurrently teaching more than one group of pupils.

11. Resident Outdoor School expanded the curriculum beyond the "four walls of the classroom." A paved nature trail was to be built along Canyon Creek, near the lower school in Canyonville, for use in biological and other outdoor learning.

12. Music Center involved the improvement of the music program. (This component was originally listed with the Media Center.)

13. Man, A Course of Study (MACOS) was a package program to replace the fifth grade social studies program.

14. Personalized Assessment was a cluster of concepts involving more testing and more individualized instruction.

15. Program Reorganization involved more diversified elective courses to be included at the junior high and high schools.

16. Block Scheduling: High school students were to be able to schedule courses for more than one year in advance.

17. Public Service: Classes were to have a variety of applied practical applications of benefit to the community.

18. Student Publishing Program: Junior high and high schools were to publish their own journals.

19. Summer Planning: Teachers were to be paid for course preparation during the summer.

20. Peer Counselling: Junior high and high school students were to help teach in nearby grade schools.

21. Art: The art program was to be improved at all levels.

22. Drama: The high school and junior high school drama programs were to be improved.

23. Civic Education involved researching the history of the area. It was to be tied in with community service and student publishing.

24. Foreign Language: The high school foreign language program was to be enlarged.

25. Reading Skills focused on special reading programs for slow or reluctant readers at the junior high and high school levels.

26. Modified Schedule: The school day and week were to be altered to allow some classes to meet for longer periods or for fewer days than previously possible.

27. Student Placement: An employment service was to be established for graduating seniors at the high school.

28. Administrative Cabinet: The administrative decision-making body was to be reorganized.

29. Coordinating Council: An 18-person organization of community members was to be established to oversee the project.

30. Building Implementation Council: An elected teacher group was to be established in each school to examine and pass on new projects.

31. Project Management and Dissemination: A director and a coordinator were to be chosen from the administrative body to oversee the development of the project.

Unfortunately such a brief checklist does a great disservice to the essence of the plan. The South Umpqua ES project was envisioned at the time as having a great many cross-ties and feedback loops, and much flexibility as well as room for expansion. For instance, there were plans for slow learners in high school to drill in the basics by tutoring grade school students. Plans also included increased interaction with the community and the use of resources outside the schools; these activities included, for example, field trips to cities, the use of Umpqua Community College, and helping parents plan for their children's educational activities at home. ES/Washington-funded programs were also to tie in with other funding sources. For example, ES funds could be combined with grants from the Oregon Fine Arts Commission and local ticket sales to bring major cultural events to the community.

A total of 24 persons were to be employed within the school system to oversee the massive paper work, correspondence, and record keeping necessary during the transitional period. Much room was left open for teacher-initiated programs.

The plan was intended to affect all grades and all aspects of education and was to be applied uniformly throughout the school district. All three grade schools were to proceed in the same direction and by the same strategies. In practice, after the budget cutting and plan revisions which occurred during the negotiations with ES/Washington, the greatest focus was on grades one through three, and the high school. The primary school teachers were each to receive the assistance of a paid half-time aide to assist with record keeping and teaching slow learners. It was decided in the many committee meetings that getting the students started in the right direction would be more effective than trying to correct mistakes later on. In the high school, the greater responsibility which could be placed on students and the immediate need to prepare them for future careers were emphasized.

SUMMARY

South Umpqua's four-year plan for its ES project was comprehensive, as called for in the original flyer that crossed the superintendent's desk. That a piecemeal approach is finite, while a comprehensive approach is not, was an important distinction in these two approaches to planned educational change which seems to have gone unnoticed by federal officials.

A great deal of teacher participation occurred during the initial planning stage of the first draft proposal as was expected--or believed to have been expected--by ES/Washington. However, both teachers and administrators recognized that such participation was not without difficulties.

Both the administration and ES/Washington were faced with the dilemma that authority can be delegated but responsibility cannot. No matter how much teachers participate in a project, the administration is responsible for the way funds are spent. No matter how much local initiative is valued, federal officials are responsible for the resulting use of money allocated to it by Congress. In both cases, the outcome was that teachers, in relation to administrators, and administrators, in relation to ES/Washington, engaged in a great deal more work than they had anticipated.

In the end the administration and the school board received a substantial sum of money to finance the types of programs they had long felt necessary to improve the schools in South Umpqua.

CHAPTER SIX, EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS: THE IMPLEMENTATION YEAR

During the summer of 1973, some teachers who were still in the area were employed to plan coursework related to ES for the following year. A University of Oregon professor was engaged to teach locally a two-week summer school course on staff development. Five teachers were hired to fill the newly created positions of instructional leader, and one as the director of staff development. These new members spent the summer planning for the next year and familiarizing themselves with the new programs. However, in spite of all the summer planning, school opened in the fall of 1973 much as if the four-year ES contract had not been signed. The administration intended to make the transition to ES activities during the school year.

That school personnel were concerned with public response to the ES project was evident in teachers' meetings at the beginning of the year. At one meeting the director of federal programs made a pitch for selling ES to the public. If the teachers talked it up, it would go over with the parents. He also stated that he was sure the budget defeat of the previous year would never have occurred if the district had not agreed to participate in the ES program. A number of teachers recommended various ways the schools might improve communications with the townspeople. The school publication, Update, was so sophisticated that even the teachers had difficulty reading it. "Couldn't a more folksy bulletin be put out?" one asked. Other teachers suggested distributing a simple mimeographed fact sheet about ES. The director agreed that both suggestions were possibilities.

THE FIRST SIX MONTHS

Implementation Priorities

How quickly and completely components of the ES project were implemented depended on a number of factors.

1. Delays caused by local budget defeats and contract negotiations with ES/Washington made preparations during the spring for full implementation the next fall unrealistic. The option of postponing full implementation until the following fall was unacceptable, at least to the administration, and no doubt to ES/Washington.

2. It was more efficient to bring in new employees, such as instructional leaders and teacher aides, at the beginning of the school year than in the middle.

3. Initiation of some components, such as the enrichment of existing programs, had different problems associated with them than did components which had definite beginnings. Such change of pace improvements seem to "mature" rather than "begin."

4. Implementation was influenced by other events within the school district. Teachers were asked to plan for other activities as well as ES. The high school teachers, for example, concentrated on planning for Oktoberfest, a carnival-like open house, during the early fall months. Visitors from ES/Washington indicated that they had expected the same degree of implementation at the high school as in other schools, where teachers postponed open houses in order to concentrate on ES activities.

Teachers spent a good deal of time in the first few months of the school year in planning new curriculum for the ES project. The aim was to provide junior high and high school students with a greater variety of classes from which to choose. Instead of being required to take American history, for example, a student might choose from such electives as Civil War studies, the Great Depression, or the Frontier Movement. The high school already had a fairly complex offering, so expanding the

overall program to include the junior highs did not represent a radical departure in philosophy. Teachers wrote new course plans in the evenings or on weekends. They were paid a small stipend if they worked in groups, but many preferred to work alone.

The administration had hoped for perhaps 40 submissions of proposed new programs. Instead it received at least 120, of which 100 were finally adapted for classroom use. The proposals were painstakingly reviewed by an administrative panel which met every Thursday evening. Most proposals were sent back at least once for revision. The boast of "Mine was accepted the first time" was a statement of considerable accomplishment. Course proposals were rigorously screened and voted on by administrators, but those accepted were the teachers' own, and teachers said they were evaluated on terms they themselves had set down.

The thrust of teacher initiative was consistent with a general difference between administrative and faculty approaches to education. When the administration had its way, it usually directed student interest toward global problems and wider horizons. Activities initiated by the administration included such events as field trips to political conventions and entrance of the high school economics class in a state-wide Junior Chamber of Commerce competition. South Umpqua was the smallest school district in the state to enter the competition and won the largest number of trophies. When the teachers had their way, the thrust was usually toward helping students adapt to the problems of small town living. Their curricula included such things as local history, Northwest Indians, public services, colonial crafts, nature trails, and field trips to other small towns.

One administrative innovation was a week-long trip to Camp Terramar on the coast. The trip, intended to teach science and to broaden student horizons, had already been tested in Canyonville at the time ES funds were applied for, and was expanded to all grade schools under ES.

Another program promoted by the Administration was MACOS (Man, A Course of Study), an externally developed district-wide fifth grade social studies program. The packaged program was already piloted in the Tri-City grade school at the time of ES grant application. The intern supervisor had researched the course and received special instruction in it at the

University of Oregon. Parents of the Tri-City students had been invited to conferences on the course and had approved of it. Perceiving that MACOS was noncontroversial as well as valuable, the administration expanded it to include other schools.

Another packaged program, People and Technology, which was designed to increase appreciation of the interplay between technology and social change, was planned as a replacement for the sixth grade social studies course. The head of staff development presented People and Technology to a meeting of administrators as an alternative to the current elementary social studies textbook on Latin America, whose approach, he said, was often sterile and misleading. Using whaling for an example, the packaged program gave a "hands on" feel for the meaning of technology. A professor from the University of Oregon was employed to prepare the faculty to teach the course. Under his direction, and in a cheerful atmosphere, the teachers built cardboard boats, improvised harpoons, and exchanged ideas about possible classroom anecdotes.

Another professor from the university was engaged to drive down every Thursday to teach a class on individualizing instruction. About 20 teachers from the district at large met at the high school after class to exchange ideas on developing more effective curriculum styles. The class itself, like other staff development classes, illustrated the technique of individualized instruction. Contributions of ideas were solicited by the professor, rather than given, and the teaching atmosphere was cheerful and egalitarian. Contributions by teachers usually consisted either of materials they happened to have or were based on their own special interests. One teacher who had taken a trip to Germany showed slides of that country. A teacher who was particularly concerned about ecology gave a demonstration on the wastefulness of American families. Another showed slides of interesting and potentially educational spots in the immediate area.

Another innovation introduced at the beginning of the year was the use of instructional aides. Each of the first through third grade teachers was assigned an assistant for half a day to help students with individual problems, to generally supervise students, or as it turned out, most welcome of all, to help with record keeping. Teachers stated in many

ways that the aides were of great value. If a parent, or other friend of the schools, helped a teacher, perhaps by keeping an eye on the children on the playground while the teacher administered to a child's bloody nose, he or she was almost certain to be complimented by being compared to an aide. "I certainly do appreciate your help; I do not have an aide this afternoon." Aides stated that they liked their jobs because they felt the work was important. Being non-certified, the aides were "classified personnel" for pay and privilege purposes along with bus drivers and custodians. Later they proved to be leaders in organizing a classified personnel union.

By mid-year all schools had begun or were in the process of entering fully into the ES project. The junior high schools were ready to convert from an annual schedule with a traditional curriculum to a nine-week quarterly schedule with a rich program of electives. The switchover in mid-year, however, created severe grading problems and more work for the teachers, since the traditional A,B,C,D,F grades for the beginning of the year were difficult to combine with the points accumulated in the grading system for the remainder of the year. Some of the older teachers had difficulty in adapting to the new system, because the nine week sessions didn't give them time to build the type of endearing relationships with students to which they were accustomed. Other teachers felt they were not prepared to teach some of the courses.

Many teachers designed new curricula around skills they happened to possess but which are not taught in colleges of education. The ensuing need for exotic skills made replacement of teachers difficult. At one administrative cabinet meeting, the Myrtle Creek junior high vice principal stated that a new position was opening for a math and leathercraft teacher. "It's a sort of bifurcated position," he added dryly.

For all its dislocations, the new system seems to have been popular with both students and teachers. Teachers offered such comments as: "I hate to admit it, but People and Technology is really very interesting;" "They won't say so, but they like having some variety instead of teaching the same course six periods a day;" "I have four course preparations this quarter; that's not too many;" and "I have the nicest students this quarter; if they take my course it's because they want to."

Talk among teachers of the discipline problem dropped off considerably. In many cases discipline did seem to improve, because the students had more supervision, because they were more interested in the subject matter, or because they were warned that if they disrupted new activities, such as field trips, those activities would be terminated.

Instructional Leaders

The five instructional leaders and the coordinator of staff development were intended to relieve some of the increased burden anticipated for teachers, and especially for principals, during the transition period. The leaders were uniformly enthusiastic and optimistic about the new programs and were helpful. Substitute teachers are always hard to find near the end of the year, and instructional leaders, not being bound by conventional schedules, were sometimes asked to fill in. One principal jokingly noted that he had no way to evaluate his instructional leader, because he could not possibly keep up with her for a full period.

However, problems of role ambiguity developed almost instantly. Some teachers objected to the possibility of instructional leaders entering their classrooms. It was not clear whether instructional leaders were responsible to the principals, to the coordinator of staff development, or to someone else in the central administration office. The leaders attempted to work out their mutual role problems by meeting together each Thursday afternoon. Subject matter included practical ideas about improving instruction, clarification of roles, and abstract attempts to arrive at an educational philosophy. When several principals objected to the meetings as "end running the principals," or as a means of communicating information among the instructional leaders that was not communicated to the principals, the meetings ceased.

For years controversy continued over whether instructional leaders were administrators with authority over teachers, assistants to the principals, teachers eligible for collective bargaining, or resource persons for the teachers.

Evaluation

The evaluation component of the ES project was another area which was much discussed. The district had two highly qualified professional

evaluators on the staff, but much of their time was spent writing quarterly reports to ES/Washington, tabulating data, and conducting other activities which kept them in their offices and away from ES activities. In addition, it was not at all clear how the impact of the nature trail or of field trips was to be measured. Many tests were designed to measure standardized, rather than individualized, instruction. Individualization of instructional techniques was at the very heart of the entire ES project, but parallel classroom observation techniques were not well developed. Finally, there were simply too many new instructional components being implemented simultaneously for two individuals to observe. Administrators said that reports coming from the evaluation component seldom influenced their decisions and sometimes were not read.

The possibility of hiring a third evaluator was briefly discussed at an administrative cabinet meeting and dismissed when one principal warned of public reaction. The superintendent agreed that any additional staff positions not directly related to classroom teaching had to be well defended.

The evaluators responded to part of the difficulties by "playing the anthropologist," as I had explained it when introducing myself the year before. That is, they observed classroom activity without any preconceived idea of what they were looking for. Their observations agreed with mine. There were far fewer signs of tension, as measured by twitching, tics, and the like, in those classrooms using the new methods than in the few still using traditional techniques. There were also many fewer signs of tension between teachers and students, especially in the lower grades where a child could turn to the aide if the teacher was not available. Toward the end of the year approximately 25% of the ES project components were being evaluated.

Extensions of School House Walls

One of the major thrusts of the South Umpqua ES project was community involvement. This component consisted of an extremely complex constellation of activities which involved both taking students off campus to participate in outdoor education, community services, and other programs, and bringing the public into the schools. Even though the schools had been moving in the direction of greater public participation for

several years, the increased emphasis represented by this component was such a major acceleration that it was still building momentum at the end of the implementation year. Part of the information contained in this section, then, is drawn from the following year.

More novel activities which took place outside the school often were attended by more difficulties than those which were more traditional. If a local resident visited the county museum, he would probably see a tour group from any school in the county, including South Umpqua. The museum is a safe option. Visits to restaurants, dairies, and other businesses were likely to be more exciting, but were more difficult to arrange. Businessmen always welcomed a class but did not expect to be visited more than once in a great while. A Canyonville junior high tree planting field trip received favorable newspaper coverage, but parents who visited the school that day were dismayed to find it empty. Some lumber mill owners showed alarm when they learned that the high school science class was studying pollution by taking water samples and decibel readings near their plants.

Two Canyonville teachers and the instructional leader planned a trip to a former whaling station at the mouth of the Columbia River in conjunction with the course on People and Technology. When the administration vetoed the plan as not worth the expense, the teachers had the entire class write letters to the director of federal programs, explaining why they should make the trip. The director is said to have grinned broader and broader as he read the letters. Some ES money was put into the field trip, the rest was raised by cupcake and rummage sales. "It's nice to know they will listen to us," one of the teachers told me triumphantly.

In spite of all their inherent difficulties, teachers frequently initiated out-of-school events. New strategies for "making the lectures real" were frequently discussed in the faculty lounge, and there was boasting about successful field trips. Because of the length of time necessary to work out details, out-of-class education was left largely to the individual teachers and the instructional leaders.

There had always been a scattering of residents, locally called "friends of the schools," who could be counted on to chaperone field trips,

guest lecture, and in other ways render assistance. As one administrator put it, "Once you get your name in the hat, word spreads through the schools, and teachers will ask you to do a lot of things." For some of the friends of the school, volunteering services to the district was a sizable and quite rewarding avocation.

One component of ES was to expand this natural beginning into regular scheduled use of volunteer parent aides. Teachers recruited perhaps more than 60 residents to grade tests, call roll, tutor, and in other ways release the teacher for more intensive instruction. Volunteers ranged from bored housewives to a prosperous businessman who was recovering from an operation.

There were stories about volunteer aides being shunted aside to "sharpen pencils," and a few teachers sometimes said the double task of teaching and supervising aides was a chore. For the most part, however, teachers and aides soon became companions if they were not already friends. When aides discussed their assistance to the schools, they were likely to remark spontaneously on the support they received from teachers.

In 1975 a group of visitors from ES/Washington expressed delight at having been approached by second graders asking for help with their arithmetic lessons. The visitors had been mistaken for volunteer parent aides.

Two problems did develop with parent volunteers: some unemployed housewives were said to have offered their services to the school in the hope of later being given employment; and some of the classified employees saw aides as potential strike breakers during their first tense collective bargaining year.

Another problem was that of confidentiality. Volunteer aides, and also cross-age tutors from the high school, sometimes caused eyebrows to rise by discussing student personalities in public.

Mini-courses, called Friday electives, were held up by the administration as one of the more successful efforts of the first implementation year. Experts in various fields were asked to teach what they knew

best, one hour a week for four weeks. Students had a vast number of choices among which to select and looked forward to the occasions. A slide show of the Myrtle Creek elementary school Friday elective program was presented at a school board meeting, and a mimeographed list of selections was distributed. The board responded favorably.

One unplanned benefit of bringing outsiders into the schools was giving students experience in dealing with a variety of adults. To hear a child greet someone on the street with, "Hello, Mrs. Temple," or "Hello, Mr. Hennigh," was a probable sign that the adult had been introduced to the child in a classroom.

OTHER SCHOOL AFFAIRS

Concerned Citizens for Education

The first meeting of the CCE during the implementation year was held in the high school theater with about 15 members and the superintendent present. Critics of the school complained that it was concentrating on peripheral events such as field trips, it wasted money, parents were not allowed to see their children at school, and one of the school buses should be retired.

The complaint about too much teaching outside the classrooms was countered by one of the members, a former bus driver, who was knowledgeable about school affairs. She gave an enthusiastic description of a field trip to Camp Terramar on the coast. Later, her own suggestion that a certain bus be retired for the safety of the children was accepted as reasonable.

The president of the CCE brought up the school bus situation as evidence that money was being wasted. He said a number of people in the community had complained about often seeing buses running in the middle of the day without any passengers. The superintendent explained that this was one of the poorest districts in the state and had to get the most out of its buses. There were 18 buses in the district, which needed twice as many, so double trips were utilized. Many of the empty buses were returning for a second load. Also, when buses became too run down to carry students, they were converted to hauling garbage, supplies, or hot lunches.

The problem of parents not being welcome in the schools was not so easily handled. Several members gave examples of attempting to deliver messages, forgotten lunches, or coats to their youngsters and not being allowed beyond the front desk. The superintendent expressed some amazement, "You mean to tell me you weren't allowed into a school you own?" More examples were given, and the superintendent promised to do something about the situation. The meeting ended more cordially than it had begun.

Capital Improvements Committee

A delegation from the Booster Club unexpectedly showed up at the January school board meeting, where it presented a request that the district submit to the voters that year a bond issue for a new athletic stadium in Tri-City. The superintendent suggested that spending money on a stadium at that time might present problems, but he promised to have a cost estimate ready for the next board meeting.

The issue of a stadium had been sensitive for some time. When the high school moved from Myrtle Creek to Tri-City, the football field remained behind. Many people, who had resented seeing the new high school moved outside Myrtle Creek, would be angered again to lose their athletic facilities. At the same time, a number of athletic boosters in Canyonville resented having to drive to Myrtle Creek to see their children play. Both coaches and athletes expressed indignation at having to be bused to their home games. The high school baseball team had won the state championship the year before, and the football team had just completed an undefeated season. The Boosters Club, a cyclical organization composed of supporters for the high school athletic program, thrived.

At the next board meeting, the superintendent presented a breakdown of figures showing that a stadium meeting all the requirements the Boosters Club requested would cost $1,800,000 to build. This report was followed by a slide presentation showing a number of capital improvements needed in the schools themselves: crowded classrooms, dark halls, overstuffed storage rooms, a dilapidated drinking fountain. Several members of the Boosters Club and of the board expressed dismay at not having been told of the need for school repairs earlier. A club member asked for the estimated cost of a bare bones minimum stadium. The superintendent answered that if they moved the lights from Myrtle Creek and put

up a concrete lined earth structure, they might be able to get by with $170,000. The board voted to submit the smaller figure to the voters and to give the superintendent direction to appoint a capital improvements committee to advise on school construction needs, including a possible new junior high school.

The superintendent's intention in giving a conspicuously high cost estimate might have been to persuade the club to withdraw its request without alienating them. If so, the strategy didn't work. The Myrtle Creek Mail headlined the larger figure, and in a separate front page column listed the needs for school repairs. To a hurried reader it appeared that the administration was pushing for an expensive stadium while letting the schools run down.

The administration asked a group of community patrons to serve on a temporary capital improvements committee to assess the conditions of the school buildings and to recommend areas where improvement was most needed. As with most school committees, it consisted of a fairly balanced cross section of the area. The city manager of Myrtle Creek served, as did several businessmen, craftsmen, and housewives. Both longstanding supporters and critics of the schools were included.

The committee members toured the schools and were given mimeographed lists of building needs. Principals took the group through the buildings, pointing out inadequacies. Some band rooms not only lacked acoustical tile but also were not insulated from classrooms. Storage space was inadequate. Junior high students in Canyonville were taught in a building addition which still had low drinking fountains and other features designed for younger students. Plumbing leaked in the older buildings, restroom facilities were ugly, and dirt playgrounds became muddy when it rained. Movable desks were of different sizes and shapes. The Tri-City elementary school was still new, but the gym had to double as a lunch room. The high school was modern but overcrowded, so that teachers could not have homerooms, and one class was taught in a partitioned off section of the lunchroom.

Teachers were cooperative and seemed eager to explain the operations of the school. One older woman teacher was asked how she got material off an upper shelf near the ceiling. She replied that she climbed

on the only flat topped desk in the room. The committee, somewhat appalled, suggested that she deserved new shelving and standardized desks. The teacher protested cheerfully that she could not get along without that desk because it was different than the others. She could put a student at that desk as punishment, or as a reward, or because he had a special project. The committee members indicated that they were not so much concerned about the desk as about the possibility that she might fall. She seemed to misunderstand their concern. "Why I wouldn't know how to teach without that desk," she protested. One almost got the impression that she interpreted their concern as that she might fall off the desk and break the floor.

If this type of optimism in the use of inadequate facilities was reverse psychology, intended to influence the committee in the direction of capital spending, it worked. By the time the tours were over one member of the committee was threatening to take his children out of the schools if they were not improved soon. The committee, including traditional critics of the schools, had difficulty setting up priorities concerning building needs because such prioritization would imply that some things could be put off temporarily.

Teacher Contracts

The implementation year of the ES project was also a difficult one for teacher contract negotiations. At the beginning of the year, a representative of the Oregon Educational Association (OEA) briefed the teachers concerning the previous year's state legislation relevant to teachers. Of 19 items of legislation for which OEA lobbied, 18 were passed and voted into law, the one exception being a minor bill the legislators felt was redundant. The previous year the OEA had actually obtained more favorable legislation that they had asked for. It was clear that the teachers were experiencing growing political strength.

The two most important items of legislation were on mandatory tenure and compulsory bargaining rights. Beginning that year, teachers with three years of employment in the same school district automatically received life tenure, during which they could be dismissed only for incompetence, insubordination, immorality, or structural reorganization of the school district. In practice, incompetence and the need for restructuring

were almost impossible to prove.

As of the 1973-74 year, school districts were required to negotiate with teacher organizations. If the negotiations broke down, the teachers had the right to strike. The governor could order an end to a strike after he determined that it was damaging to public welfare, but the case then went to mandatory arbitration. Such arbitration was likely to be favorable to the teachers. In other contexts, the South Umpqua Education Association membership was advised that, since it had never filed a grievance against the school administration, it was not in a strong position to negotiate more favorable grievance procedures into a contract. Also the teachers were informed that all school districts in the state would be given a model contract to help in developing their own, and it would be a tough one.

The teachers, as expected, set their sights high. They asked for an 18% pay increase; a shortened school year; an increase in travel pay; a written statement from the superintendent of the reasons for any transfer, demotion, or change in scheduling; binding arbitration in disagreements with the school; classroom authority; and greater power to discipline. The touchiest demand was that the administration could not introduce any new or experimental programs into the curriculum without first informing the faculty and obtaining its permission.

The school board flatly rejected the demands, and some members threatened to refuse to bargain, saying they would not "negotiate policy." The board countered the teachers with an intentionally exaggerated set of demands in the other direction. The teachers were asked to accept an 8% cost of living salary increase, to surrender most grievance rights, to pay for any legal expenses incurred by the school in termination of teacher contracts, and to allow the school to forbid teachers from participating in any outside activity it considered would interfere with teaching ability.

When the board proposal was read to the teacher organization, the reaction was visible anger. "I move that we halt negotiations until they agree to stop treating us like children," said one teacher. It also became apparent that there was a sharp split among those in attendance between supporters of the schools and supporters of the teacher organization. Voting down the school budget was considered as a strategy

and tabled. At the end of a rather heated discussion, voting against the school board was suggested and well received by the audience. During the ensuing negotiations, which lasted for five months, there was talk among the teachers of going on strike for the first time in the history of the school district.

The bargaining committees were composed of six teachers on the one side and the superintendent, high school principal, and three school board members on the other. Sessions were long and sometimes vituperative. The principal showed the results of a great deal of experience. He was articulate, knowledgeable about law, and repeatedly tried new strategies, being sometimes witty, friendly, or severe. The teachers seemed embarrassed to be in a confrontation with the administration. The same people who were highly articulate when explaining a situation to the teacher organization could barely form sentences when relaying the organization's demands to the administrative bargaining committee. They appeared extremely reluctant to accuse the administration of bad faith or other unflattering conduct. In many ways the teachers' attitudes resembled those reported of industrial workers during early days of union organizing in which the workers were accustomed to deferring to their employer and were not at all comfortable bargaining as equals. However, the superintendent's attempts to use his advantage to advance negotiations met with little success. Teachers consistently refused to give in.

During the bargaining it slowly came out that the teachers did not feel they could approach school board members if they felt their rights were being violated, that they would be harassed by being given undesirable teaching assignments if they complained to the board, and that they believed that complaints stemming from the administrative complex ended up in their employment files. They also indicated that they believed that arbitrary and vindictive secret reports in their files followed them from job to job.

A principal explained that only very brief sketches of their background experience were forwarded to the next district considering them for employment. The hiring principal might make a phone call asking about a teacher applying for a position, but that was about all the influence a principal had in determining a teacher's future job chances.

School board members flatly denied that teachers couldn't talk with them.

The new contract, which was signed in March of 1974, gave the teachers a 10% pay increase and was generally favorable to the administration. One of the most heavily contested items, the right of teachers to veto new programs, which was attributed by both sides as stemming from the previous year's problems with ES, was not included in the contract.

Grievance Hearing

Before the new contract was signed, a teacher filed the first grievance for many years in the district. A coach in Canyonville had been told by his principal that he might as well hand in his resignation because his contract would not be renewed. Later he learned that his contract would be renewed, but that he had been transferred to the high school. When the superintendent was out of town, the coach phoned the vice superintendent demanding to know the reason for his transfer. The vice superintendent declined to tell him. The next day the coach filed three counts of grievance: that he had been improperly evaluated, that the Canyonville principal had permitted him to be harassed by parents, and that the vice superintendent had violated school policy by refusing to explain his transfer.

Long and stressful negotiations were held between the teachers' grievance committee and the administration over how the grievance was to be handled. According to state law, the proper procedure is for the teacher in question first to have an informal conference with the building principal; if he is dissatisfied with the results, he can demand a private conference with the superintendent, at which he is allowed representation and witnesses may be called in. If the teacher still is not satisfied, he may submit his grievance to the school board at a public meeting. The superintendent expressed great concern that the case not reach a public hearing, and that no rumors be started that he had made a decision contrary to the evidence.

The entire grievance committee of 12 teachers was admitted to the second stage of the procedure as interested persons, a court recorder was hired to record testimony verbatim, and it was agreed that the entire transcript would be made available to all teachers. It was also agreed that strict courtroom procedure would be followed, with the superintendent

acting as magistrate. The high school principal acted as representative for the vice superintendent, the director of federal programs represented the Canyonville principal. An official from the Oregon Educational Association represented the coach, but when he had to leave early, a band teacher continued the representation. The meeting lasted from seven in the evening until after one in the morning.

As in the case of the contract negotiations, the teachers showed a lack of experience. Much of the evidence they presented was ruled to be hearsay or irrelevant to the case. The band teacher, representing the coach, often repeated the same points over and over. The principal, against whom the grievance was filed, was one of the most popular in the school district. As one board member put it, "She's not liked, she's loved." The administration found that the principal had evaluated the coach after the required deadline, and the other two grievances were dismissed.

The coach took his case to the school board meeting, at which the entire Canyonville faculty sat in the audience. The hearings lasted until three in the morning. The board upheld the administration's earlier decision and recommended that the coach be retained at the high school.

At the next board meeting the Canyonville fifth grade class presented a petition requesting that the coach be returned to their school. Seventeen mothers made statements that they thought the coach was a fine teacher. Two parents, who had been accused of harassing the teacher, were present to defend themselves. The consensus seemed to be that the coach was a good teacher because he was a wholesome individual who inspired good manners and morality in students. The fact that he would be assigned six health classes a day at the high school, rather than a more varied class load, was cited by his supporters as evidence of administration harassment.

Supporters of the coach found other faults with the schools. "One teacher marked on my son's report card, 'Lacks self discipline.' Yet my boy tells me that teacher once went into a rage in the classroom, shouting and throwing things on the floor." Untrue rumors spread that the Canyonville principal threatened to resign if the grievance were to

be upheld. The band teacher who represented the coach at the hearings received a formal vote of thanks and a long ovation at the annual teachers' banquet.

The Budget Defeat

Defeat of the budget was such a foregone conclusion in 1974 that the administration and school board did not resort to their usual telephone campaign to get out the yes votes. The Oregon state legislature had recently passed a bill requiring school elections to be held on certain calender dates, rather than on 90 days' notice, so the special measure to finance the new stadium had to be placed on the same ballot with the school budget. Some skeptics, who otherwise might not have voted, would be drawn to the polls. Some residents disapproved of the idea of a new stadium when classrooms were needed; others resented skimping on what was seen as a significant public resource; others did not want to see the stadium moved from Myrtle Creek. Many school districts in the state were also having budget difficulties. The administration and the school board were nevertheless surprised at the narrowness of the 397-462 negative vote.

The budget committee deleted $30,000, mostly from a proposed new cafeteria to serve the district as a whole. The budget was resubmitted and passed by 75 votes.

The implementation year was during a period of national tax inflation, immediately preceding the recession of the mid 1970s. However, in Oregon timber prices were soaring, construction and new businesses in South Umpqua were adding to the tax roll. When the receipts were in at the end of the year, the administration discovered it could build the new cafeteria with the windfall taxes. During the meeting on reallocating resources, the school evaluator brought up the point that people who had voted for the budget the second time, after the cafeteria had been deleted, might be displeased. "Yes," the superintendent replied, "that is a problem we might have to face."

SUMMARY

During the first year of South Umpqua's implementation of its ES project, the schools were faced with unanticipated difficulties related to

changes in teacher and community attitudes. Administrative priorities, public concerns expressed by the Concerned Citizens for Education and the Boosters Club, and the concerns of teachers were all at variance. Working through the several mutually exclusive expectations took time and created hard feelings.

CHAPTER SEVEN. EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS: THE CONTINUATION YEARS

The 1974-75 school year opened on something of a triumphant note for the superintendent. After a hectic summer of construction, training of new personnel, and supervising equipment deliveries, the new cafeteria at the high school was completed, just in time. The new cafeteria was the logical place for conferences, committee meetings, and other school or civic activities. It became standard for guests of the schools to be treated to lunch in the faculty lounge. Word got around that the high school cafeteria served the best meals in south Douglas County, and the price was right. High school student participation in the hot lunch program shot up so fast that serving periods had to be changed to double shifts.

The new cafeteria also became something of a showplace for the district. Later in the year the nearby Riddle school district asked to contract into the hot lunch program. Similarly, in Roseburg, where expenditures for a cafeteria were included in the annual school levy, the Roseburg News Review ran a full-page article comparing the food service program in South Umpqua with food from vending machines that their students were eating (Sept. 13, 1975).

As soon as it became clear that a cafeteria would be built, the administration began planning a food service career education program to be financed with ES funds. Approximately 8,000 new jobs in food service open in Oregon each year, while less than 700 of the new job entrants are trained locally. After the usual long meetings, the new career training program began early in the year. Food service personnel participated enthusiastically. As one of them said, "The pay isn't much, but I'm not just slinging hash any more. I feel I'm doing something worthwhile."

At least six times during the school year, board members mentioned the flak they were getting from the voters, because they had permitted building a cafeteria after the item had been deleted from the budget. They warned the superintendent never to do anything of that sort again.

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The food service career education program was only one of many components implemented during the second year of South Umpqua's ES project, which was by then going full-tilt. Because the project included so many components, this chapter will be illustrative rather than definitive. It covers the two-year continuation period from September 1974 to June 1976.

EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS ACTIVITIES

Both the administration and the instructional leaders were busier than usual the fall of 1974. Principals and other administrators could be found engaged in committee meetings at almost any time of the working day. One group of meetings involved traditional concerns, such as pupil absences, which were running 10% at the high school. Another group involved catching up on summer maintenance, which had been delayed as maintenance workers were assigned to work on the cafeteria. Another group involved the need for more accurate systems of recordkeeping. Just as the government was earlier perceived to expect higher than local standards for the administrative complex, so it also expected tighter inventory procedures. Sometimes items financed with federal money were ordered by a particular school from the central office and were paid for before they arrived. The schools bought paper at a bulk rate, sold the federal project its share at cost, and kept the rest at a small savings. Complicated inventory and bookkeeping procedures were developed which allowed central office personnel to check on expenditures anywhere in the district without visiting the schools. Another consideration was that a comprehensive review of the ES project was planned for later that fall, and other matters had to be gotten out of the way first.

Still more meetings were caused by the fact that labor negotiations were proving more difficult than expected. Negotiations with the teachers broke down early in the fall and continued all year, complicating the problem of drawing up a budget later on. Classified personnel, bus drivers, custodians, and the like had organized for the first time the previous year and were entering into negotiations for their first contract with a somewhat adversary attitude.

From the outside, South Umpqua gave the impression of a typical American school system. Grade-school students continued to line up politely on the playground, waiting their turn to shoot baskets. Teachers

with whistles around their necks ushered students efficiently from one activity to another. Conversations in the faculty lounges continued to be on subjects related to personal activities as well as those related to the schools, although there was quite a bit of talk about contract negotiations as "fresh air" (fair share). Proposals for requiring payment into the teachers' organization, regardless of membership, was a controversial issue that year.

New teachers had various attitudes toward the ES project. One of the 34 new teachers said he was attracted to the district in part because of ES. Several said they were a bit concerned about whether joining the program was voluntary or was expected of them. Several said that the novel curricula which they inherited required quite a bit of homework but were much preferable to unstructured curricula.

Instructional leaders were everywhere. They were seen photographing first grade parent orientation meetings for publicity releases; they conducted seminars on parent-teacher relationships; they researched new projects. When teachers proposed innovations, the instructional leaders researched the project, rushed it through channels, and got back to the teacher before he or she had lost enthusiasm for it. When teachers were skeptical of new programs, instructional leaders used another approach; they were patient, persuasive, they explored alternative possible solutions, and they tried to create an atmosphere of enthusiasm around the doubters.

Late in October the central administrative staff and building principals gathered for a week-long review of the ES project. The review began with the distribution of a 20-page document prepared by the director of federal programs. The administrators went through the entire project, one component at a time.

There was considerable discussion of the first grade reading program. The teachers were complaining because they had one reading program and a test for another one. However, the program seemed to be working. One administrator said that:

> We have never had such early accomplishments, but we don't know how we are getting it.
>
> We must be doing something right. To heck with figuring it out; let's just keep doing whatever it is we are doing.

There was general agreement that the packaged programs, such as

MACOS and People and Technology, were doing rather well. The courses were popular with the teachers and benefitted the students but, being packaged units, they were not very easy to adapt to local conditions.

The cultural enrichment section was seen as beneficial to the students and not too expensive, as much of the cost was partially assumed by a variety of sources. Public attendance, however, had been light at the offerings presented.

The high school employment service was a point of some consternation. According to the original thinking, high school students who went through the career awareness programs often got jobs which had nothing to do with their career education. After a few months on a job their careers were established, and the effects of their career preparation were lost. A special job placement service was created at the high school to line up employment for the students in careers for which they had been prepared. In the meantime, a national recession had developed, and unemployment in the area was approaching 12%. Merchants were hiring secretaries out of Umpqua Community College instead of out of the high school. The job placement service itself was without precedent, and so it was not at all clear where to turn for advice on how to get it moving.

The nature trail at Canyonville had considerable potential, but the teacher who had proposed the project had resigned, and it was not clear who would implement it.

Summer school in Myrtle Creek was described as "a technical success." The plan had called for employing teachers during the summer at $120 a week for a combination of staff development, additional assistance to slow learners, and orientation for the incoming first graders. Not enough local teachers had signed on, and so additional teachers were recruited from the nearby Riddle school district.

The one aspect of the South Umpqua ES project which sparked the most debate was the role of instructional leader.

The comprehensive review emphasized the less successful components in order to concentrate on how to improve them. Overall evaluation by the administrators varied. One administrator expressed considerable disappointment. "It looks like we are not doing so well. I guess ES/ Washington will have reason to be disappointed with us." Another ad-

ministrator contradicted, "Oh, I don't know. Some of the programs are irreversible. Take the junior high curriculum, for example. We'll never go back to the non-elective system."

In the meantime, instructional leaders were promoting more changes at the building level. They held conferences with teachers on individualized instruction, parent participation, and other subjects. One long series of sessions was devoted to teachers' responses to classroom visitors. The teachers seemed unanimously in favor of having visitors, but admitted being nervous about being caught at a bad time and about not knowing the parent's purpose. "Couldn't we arrange to have paper eyes pinned on parents who come just to observe, and paper hands pinned on those who come to participate?"

Teacher response to visitors varied greatly. Some teachers pointedly ignored adults in their rooms. This may be either sophistication or stoicism. Sometimes the visitor's very presence in the classroom created a disturbance which the teacher combatted with a counter-disturbance on the opposite side of the room. The most frequent response was to transform the visitors into a resource in some way. "This is Mr. Hennigh. He's been to Alaska."

There were also long meetings between teachers, instructional leaders, and principals over scheduling problems. Diversified class loads greatly increased supervisory and planning problems.

Early in the 1975-76 school year I dropped into a math class which was using a new curriculum that allowed students to proceed at their own pace. The students were busy with their math assignments. Periodically one would say, "Mr. Bea, I don't have anything to do." "You can't not have anything to do," they were told. "You haven't finished the course yet." At one time I used the word "humongus," which caused the teacher laughingly to ask a student, "Donna, how much is one humongus?" The student smiled, stretched her arms as far apart as she could, and then got busily back to work.

During the 1975-76 school year the high school initiated a 20-minute advisory period in which students could discuss their activities with teachers; counselling, planning, and record keeping were also to be included in the sessions. Each student selected his own faculty advisor.

Some teachers, who did not consider themselves to be particularly popular, were impressed by the number of students who chose them.

Each year the high school had a different artist-in-residence, paid for in part by ES funds and in part by other grants. Some students were learning creative photography. The walls of the high school and the Canyonville schools were graced with student painted murals and other art works. In 1975 the school tried unsuccessfully to sell a septic tank, which had become surplus after the Tri-City sewer system had been completed. The artist-in-residence proposed that the septic tank be used to create a metal sculpture. He made contact with a well known artist, and calculated that for $4,000 the school could obtain a sculpture valued five times that amount. The school board was skeptical of public reaction and of its limited potential value to a school, which had at most one or two budding professional artists. The department head of career education lent his support to the idea, because his students needed a heavy metal project, and the idea carried. The metal sculpture has since been completed but, in the meantime, the athletic stadium burned to the ground in Myrtle Creek, and so much effort went into building a new stadium in Tri-City that the sculpture has yet to be set in place.

Some of the components which the school was contracted to see through were the hardest to put into effect. The high school block scheduling program never got going because students did not apply for the program. The high school had an annual turnover in drama teachers, and so the cumulative effect of cultural enrichment in drama did not have a chance to develop. Prodigious efforts were spent on Friday electives. Quite a few students said they liked school better after ES, because there were more things to do. Teachers and administrators agreed that it was difficult to tie in the Friday electives program with curriculum and keep it there. During 1976 many Friday elective projects were directed toward Bicentennial projects. South Umpqua grade schools won 17 awards of merit in a county-wide Bicentennial exhibit at the county seat, partly because they had more resources in time and personnel.

The attitude of teachers during the continuation years is not completely clear. Staff turnover of about 20% per year continued. Some teachers who left during that time were strong supporters of the ES project. Of the 34 teachers who saw the project through from beginning

beginning to end, some were strong supporters of the project, quic offer new suggestions and ready to complain if the administration to apply for additional federal funds. Others, however, worked extremely hard on the ES projects but confided that they could barely wait for the entire thing to end, "so I can get back to teaching." Several attempted to teach both the new curriculum and the one it was supposed to replace. A number of teachers, both new and old, insisted, sometimes emphatically, that student achievement was plummeting.

The attitudes of new teachers are more difficult to describe. Some were fresh out of college and eager to prove themselves. Some, whether they were for or against the programs, stated that they were waiting to see how things worked out before deciding whether to apply to another school. Some new teachers' attitudes were influenced by the fact that they came into the district at a time when public opinion was turning against the schools.

An example might suggest the dilemma in which quite a few teachers saw themselves. During 1974-75 each grade school sent teacher representatives to a committee at the central office to select new textbooks for grades one through five. The teachers, instructional leaders, director of staff development, and the vice superintendent met each Wednesday afternoon from one until five o'clock. The committee members were divided into three groups, each of which reviewed one book a week. Members were cheerful but intense as they calculated the strengths and weaknesses of each book. There was much discussion of flexibility, adaptability, matching, and other professional details. Meetings were much more likely to last overtime than to conclude early.

The textbook committee was unable to reach a selection on the last Wednesday of the school year, and so a final meeting was scheduled for the last day of classes. The end of school was always hectic, and the last meeting was confusing. Some committee members left during the meeting to attend a retirement tea for two teachers and then returned. Several different methods of choice were proposed. The vice superintendent stated that he had authority to pay teachers to come in the following Monday to make their choice. Several teachers, who had planned to be on vacation by that time, announced they were voting and leaving.

At the beginning of the following school year, an instructional leader called a meeting of the elementary teachers, where he told them that the texts which had been ordered for the year were two-thirds Harper and Row, and one-third Sullivan for slow learners. The teachers were visibly angry. Several stated that the committee had voted for Sullivan. Others said that the difficulties in monitoring a two-textbook system created more work than they could handle. "We are not lazy teachers. We work after school. We take work home on weekends--my husband says my work ruins his weekends--but it has gotten to the point where we will make decisions based on how much additional work is required."

UNPLANNED EVENTS

The time from the opening of school in the fall of 1974 until at least the time of this writing (the spring of 1977) probably will be remembered as a time of growing public reaction against school policies in much of Oregon. Other public institutions, such as municipalities and junior colleges, were also under fire, but it was public reaction to schools which shocked the nation. In this section I briefly chronicle the "gathering storm." Analysis and summary are left until the reader has had a chance to gain a sense of the increasing tempo of unexpected events. As noted in Chapter 1, public reaction against the schools occurred as far back as consolidation in the 1960s; at the end of the ES project, it was not yet certain whether such reaction had reached its peak.

In 1975 ten school districts, including two of the largest in southern Oregon, opened without budgets. They limped along on bank loans and other expediencies until the next authorized election in November. Superintendents appeared on television with scare stories of the consequences of another "no" vote. State matching funds are based on the previous year's expenditures; if there were no expenditures, there would be no matching funds the next year. School closure would mean a double first grade the next year, a double second grade the year after, and so on. Spokesmen for the citizens appeared on television with such definitive statements as, "The school has not heeded the will of the people. We will vote 'no' until our will is heeded."

There were traffic jams near the polls in November, and nine of ten budgets passed in what, according to the newspapers, was the choice of the lesser evil. The first school board meeting of the 1974-75 year was rather routine. The teachers' contract for the year was ratified after nearly a year of negotiation. A letter was read from the Oregon Educational Association requesting that fringe benefits granted to teachers be extended to cover classified employees. A new school board member was appointed to fill a vacancy created by a resignation.

The last item was a complaint by a group of classified employees that they had not been paid for labor performed. Four employees had been scheduled to appear, but three backed out at the last minute. One of the articulate new instructional aides, hired under ES, spoke for the group. According to the report, they had supposed themselves to have been on the payroll for up to a month, but when pay day came, they received as little as one day's wages. The classified employees were not asking for back pay; they only requested that this type of situation not occur again.

The board quickly agreed to look into the situation and correct any mistakes that had been made. When the representative was asked for the names of the employees, she explained that they had asked that their names not be given because they were afraid of losing their jobs. After some discussion, it was agreed that the representative would try to persuade the other employees to see the superintendent or to appear at the next board meeting.

The custodians did appear at the following board meeting. They apologized for burdening the board. As one of them put it, "After all, we are the lowest things on earth." A board member corrected her, "We are equals doing different jobs." The matter of the back pay was quickly settled.

Classified personnel had unionized for the first time the previous year, and negotiated their first contract during the 1974-75 year. Negotiation would have gone totally unnoticed by anyone not searching for data. There was little talk of the new situation in the communities or among the teachers. The administration handled negotiation in a manner of professionals utilizing delegated authority, without fanfare.

At classified personnel meetings, one could see a striking contrast between the established employees, mostly semi-elderly, in their well worn work clothes, and the new aides, mostly young and smartly dressed. Older workers complained, sometimes bitterly, about the lack of authority over students, especially on school buses. The aides rephrased their statements, explained grievance and other procedures, and suggested negotiation strategies.

Teacher contract negotiations, by contrast, received front page coverage as usual. Teacher salaries had always been of considerable public interest. For the first time the administration entered contract negotiations with a prepared statement to present to the teachers' association. According to the Mail, the administration had four reasons for supporting the board's proposal: to achieve an early settlement for the benefit of the district's children; to preserve flexibility of management decisions; to achieve moderation, equity, and reasonable labor costs; and to insure maintenance of a friendly and businesslike relationship between the school board and the association.

Also for the first time the teachers' association was represented by a professional negotiator supplied by the state organization. Administrators, school board members, and teachers remarked in a number of different contexts that the administration was on the defensive much of the time. The negotiator for the teachers appeared to be negotiating from a statewide perspective, using the most favorable contracts in the state as a model for the rest, and from the basis of enormous research.

> Administrator: "There is no way you can justify an 8% pay increase. The area is in a recession, tax receipts are down. People are worried about their jobs. The voters will not tolerate such an increase for the teachers."
>
> Negotiator: "I could name a school district within 20 miles of here which settled for a 12% pay hike."

Negotiations broke down in October with only one minor point agreed upon, then were resumed much later in the year. Composing a budget, without knowing what the teachers' salaries would be, was awkward. The vice superintendent, who headed the administrative negotiations team, stated that his

year was consumed largely with researching contract negotiation across the state, and that he crowded in his main job of curriculum development as best he could. Some older teachers, who had supported the administration and had talked against strike the year before, were furious at the opposition to seniority pay increases. Some stated that they saw the administration as trying to squeeze them out of the profession.

The budget committee had a difficult year because of the recognized high probability of defeat. The final levy, set for the May 1975 election, was for $1,276,116, or $13,000 more than the levy which had passed the year before. Patrons from the community, who had long been involved with the schools, nevertheless warned that citizens objected to the amount of "fat" in the budget. "Look at this item, $30 stop watches. The voters are not going to stand for things like that."

In South Umpqua defeat of the May, 1975 budget was a foregone conclusion. Someone believed to be a school board member, had nailed a list of administrators' salaries to the door of Hanna Mining Company, which employs many residents of the school district. "There go 400 votes right there," asserted the principal who broke the news to the Administrative Cabinet. Another citizen, believed to be a retiring teacher, circulated a personnel inventory purporting a list of 70 so-called "administrative" (i.e., non-teaching) positions in the school system. "I'll bet she even used the school mimeograph," lamented one principal. The administration was nevertheless unprepared for the magnitude of the election defeat, 762 no, 417 yes, with all four election districts rejecting the budget. On the second try in August of 1975 a bare bones budget of $1,219,079 squeaked by 461 to 424, in spite of the fact that a defeat might mean that school would not open in the fall. An accompanying item on the ballot, local support for a preschool program begun with federal funds under Title III, was defeated 534 to 377 and was not resubmitted. In both nearby Days Creek and Riddle, proudly conservative school districts, the public voted to continue similar preschool programs at local expense.

The first school board meeting after the defeat was jammed with a standing room only crowd. Not everyone present was a critic of the schools. There was routine presentation of bus bids and a recommendation for a change

in graduation photographs by a group which was sympathetic to the schools. The most heated item of debate concerned the removal of a teacher from a coaching position. For the second time in two years a personnel dispute had become an item of public controversy.

Twenty-four high school students presented a petition signed by 350 students and tax payers requesting that the coaching postion be restored. Testimony in favor of the coach continued for more than an hour. Student testimony was extremely similar, suggesting much group preparation. Almost every student stated that it took several years to develop a basketball team from their freshman year into a winning senior team, and that it was humiliating for a coach to watch a team he had developed playing under someone else's supervision. They also noted the great amount of support the coach gave the students, arranging athletic scholarships, making contacts, and the like. They gave the fact that the teacher had published an article in Coaches magazine as evidence of professionalism. Parents, testifying in favor of the coach, stated that he was a strict disciplinarian and insisted on high moral standards. "It's just marvelous to see those boys getting off the team bus, all with ties and nice haircuts."

The school board took the petition under advisement, but later upheld the decision not to renew the teacher's coaching responsibility.

There was much discussion of the budget defeat. The superintendent recommended that the new budget wait until after teacher contracts had been settled. He noted also that with inflation the tax payers were paying more and more without buying more education for their money.

In June of 1975 the teacher negotiations reached the fact finding stage, a legal procedure which requires public hearings. The two sides took adversary positions. The spokesman for the administration accused the other side of taking the position of "What is mine is mine, and what is yours is negotiable." The negotiator from the Oregon Educational Association accused the administration of holding wages down until teachers qualified for food stamps.

The ES project was mentioned directly only three times during the ten days of hearings. During his opening remarks, the negotiator for the

teachers noted that the $190,000 a year which the district received in federal funds should influence the ability to pay teachers. The representative for the administration noted several times that reluctance of teachers to seek summer school employment should be evidence that they did not feel underpaid. The most controversial point was whether, for collective bargaining purposes, instructional leaders were administrators or teachers. If they were declared to be administrators, the public charge that the school was top heavy with administrators would be validated. If they were declared to be teachers, the bargaining position of the teachers' association would be greatly increased. The matter was sent to the Oregon Public Employees Relations Board for a decision, which finally ruled that the leaders were administrators.

The first school board meeting during summer vacation was jammed with bus drivers, teachers, and parents, protesting student misbehavior during the last school bus run of the year. The last bus run had always been hectic; principals traditionally ride the buses that day to maintain a semblance of order. The message, however, was that the students were becoming more unruly and that bus drivers therefore required more authority.

The new teacher contract was ratified during the first school board meeting in the fall of 1975. An extensive review of new disciplinary policies on school buses was made. The classified employees had won their first contract the previous year, and those employees, who had once described themselves as the "lowest people on earth," had become a group with considerable formal influence.

The district's athletic stadium in Myrtle Creek burned to the ground in the beginning of the 1975-1976 school year. The school board had been trying unsuccessfully ever since consolidation to get the stadium moved to the high school in Tri-City. The board voted to use the insurance money to rebuild the stadium at the more central location. The work load of administrators and of the maintenance crews, who doubled as construction workers, was greatly increased. Public reaction was presumably mixed, since a number of people had stated previously that their resistance to moving the stadium was partly "to show the administration

that the people are still boss." The local value of saving tax dollars by volunteer labor was tested and found to be still functioning.

At one particularly hectic school board meeting in South Umpqua, a progress report was given on the new stadium. Hanna Mining Company had donated the use of heavy equipment, and a school board member had rounded up volunteer skilled operators to use it. One of the most vocal critics of the school asked when the work would be done, because she belonged to a group that planned to serve free coffee and doughnuts to the volunteers.

Public opposition to the schools picked up in November. The school board meeting room had been doubled in size to accommodate increasing crowds. More than 50 patrons of the community attended the November 12, 1975 meeting and spoke out on five of the 22 items of business, ranging from school bus policy to girls' athletics. The meeting, which included an executive session, lasted from eight in the evening until two in the morning. The most discussed items included transportation of cheerleaders and a controversial film. On the first issue, several parents and students made impassioned pleas that the school transport cheerleaders to athletic events. "It is humiliating for girls to have to beg parents to drive them, and we don't know what sort of supervision they receive, and they are not covered by insurance." The parents were reminded that transportation would cost a lot of money. The matter was tabled for further study.

The second, and more portentous, item of debate concerned an extremely popular teacher who was accused, among other things, of showing a controversial film, "Horror House," and of being a witch. The accusations related to her course in Myth and Legend, in which she presented an effective section on psychic phenomena. During the executive session the crowd was asked to remain outside while witnesses testified individually. Rumblings of debate could be heard coming from the outer office, as witnesses remarked, "You should hear what is going on out there!" Some parents left early, somewhat placated when students vigorously defended the teacher.

As the testimony proceeded, it became increasingly clear that concern over the incident of a teacher showing an objectionable film was being

used as a mechanism for "getting into the school and straightening things out." Parents accused the school of not responding appropriately to smoking in the girls' restroom, filthy messages scratched on walls, students carrying switchblade knives, pot smoking, and a student being threatened with brass knuckles. Parents also accused the schools of teaching religion in the school and of graduating functional illiterates.

A high school aide said she defended the teacher who had shown the controversial film by saying that if parents wanted to know what was going on in the classroom, they should come to the school and see for themselves. She added that she told them that the teacher was outstandingly capable, especially compared with some other teachers in the school. "It's just agony seeing the students just sitting there not doing anything in some of those classes."

There was very little overlap between the group who wanted cheerleaders bused and those who objected to the controversial film, presumably because different models of the school system were held by the two groups. The model of the school as autonomous is consistent with a policy of transporting cheerleaders, while the power base model of the school is consistent with the desire for a shift of supervision of students from the administration to parents.

In December an event occurred which may have altered school-community relationships. The largest newspaper in the county published a front page feature titled, "Where's the Money? Education" (News Review, December 19, 1975). This article listed the salaries of publicly employed administrators in the county, including the superintendent of South Umpqa. The following day the newspaper published the second of two articles titled, "High Salaries Not Unique in Douglas County." In it, the head of the Oregon School Boards Association explained that educational administrative positions carry a "heavy burden of responsibility" in supervision, decision-making, and accountability to local school boards. Most districts in Douglas County were paying their superintendents near the average. "An exception was the South Umpqua School District" (News Review, December 20, 1975).

Some people were shocked to discover that administrators were receiving up to twice the salaries that they had supposed. There were

speculations and repeated stories among teachers, both supporters and opponents of the administration, as to how the administrators felt about the newspaper series. Copies of the articles were pinned to the teachers' association bulletin board. Even before the budget came out some people, who had always voted "yes" out of a sense of civic responsibility, were saying they would vote "no" for the first time in their lives.

In January of 1976 a group which variously called itself the Concerned Citizens, the Volunteer Parent Patrol, or the Patrol People organized to police the high school. As it was explained to me, two students had become so intimidated by "smokers" who hung out in the girls' restroom, that they were afraid to use the facilities. They went to the bathroom immediately before going to school, and then rushed home to relieve themselves again after school. This type of situation was not a recent development. The problem of misuse of the girls' restrooms was a perennial problem. As far back as 1973 the school had briefly experimented with removing the doors from the toilet booths to prevent girls from locking themselves in for a smoke. Other girls found the arrangement humiliating, and the doors were replaced.

Members of the patrol appeared calm, constructive, and resourceful. One told me that the superintendent had expressed concern for his physical safety. "That would really blow the roof off the school," she remarked, with what appeared to be more concern for the school than for herself. "But all I have received have been bad names and catcalls, and I can take that."

A crowd began gathering outside half an hour before the February 11, 1976 school board meeting. For the first time in the recent history of protest in South Umpqua, a protest group included a number of prominent residents. The crowd of over 120 citizens was more than the board room could comfortably handle. The most significant item on the agenda, predictably, was delinquency in the high school. Two spokesmen for the group stood facing the audience. One read off a long list of tightly documented observations made by the Parent Patrol. At the end of each statement, the other read a conclusion based on law, school student policy

handbook, or commonly understood obligations of the school. Students were reported smoking marijuana, being freaked out on drugs, sabotaging chairs so they would collapse when sat on, pulling towel dispensers off the wall, kicking holes in the practice gym wall, ripping upholstery, verbally abusing teachers and custodians, and driving away from school grounds during the day.

During the heated debate afterwards it became clear that the parents were not to be dissuaded, nor would they stand for "being appeased". According to the newspapers, the superintendent "swept his desk clean," and concentrated on the parents' concerns. He met extensively with the high school principal and the students, as well as with the parents.

School board meetings were heavily attended for the rest of the year. At one, the Parent Patrol group strongly objected that the novel Carrie, by Stephen King, was included on an optional reading list. A copy of the book, with offending words underlined (King 1974: 158-59), was passed among the audience. The protesting parent summarized, "A person would have to have a sick mind to read a book like that."

In another controversial item on the agenda, the coach who had sponsored the all-weather track and who, for other reasons, was not being rehired, protested that the new stadium was crowding out the track, and that funds for the project had been inefficiently invested. At one point a school board member briefly lost his temper and scolded the coach. There were immediate objections from the floor. "Shouldn't those remarks be addressed to the chair?" "Yes, yes, speak to the chairman."

In a closely related event, the coach requested a special school board meeting where he could appeal the non-renewal of his contract with the assistance of his lawyer. The request was granted. The critics of the schools were there, as were at least 20 students. Student after student testified, some of them weeping, that the coach was dedicated to the students and to his profession. At the next regular board meeting the board voted to restore the coach's contract. There was loud applause from the audience.

Also at this meeting, some parents demanded that the high school be made a closed campus. There was a great deal of discussion about the meaning of "closed campus," and much demand for clarification. "You know darned good and well what we mean by closed campus. The students stay on the school ground." "But what about lunch. Some students who live near campus go home for lunch." "Closed campus is where the students come to school in the morning and leave the school grounds when school is over." During the month the administrators argued hard against a closed campus, saying that it would be unworkable, the additional policing requirements would be more than the teachers could tolerate, and students would find it objectionable.

Each school board meeting was attended by a different audience, plus a core of active participants who had also been part of the Parent Patrol. The regular attendants usually placed themselves on the agenda and spoke out. They developed a strong, long lasting sense of camaraderie. However, it is unlikely that this active group represented only a small minority of the population. Massive budget defeats during this period suggest that the active group included more or less accepted ad hoc representatives of many groups.

There were long discussions among administrators about the increasing opposition to school policies. Each specific complaint was taken literally. Classified personnel demands for more authority on the buses resulted in a rigorous set of rules in which students could not get off the bus at any unauthorized stop without written permission from the parents. There were long discussions about non-typical circumstances, such as misbehavior on field trips and differences in language used toward male and female bus drivers. There was talk about the possibility of installing CB radios on the buses so that drivers could be in instant contact with principals or the police.

High school students said that the new rules were offensive. Although some students said that they began abusing bus privileges for the first time after the new rules went into effect, most students went along with them.

The administration's response to objectionable films and books was to tighten up screening procedures. Teachers said this mostly meant showing fewer films and not adding to the reading list. Disciplinary measures were tightened; roll call, excuse slips, and the requirement that a student have permission to drive his parents' car to school while his was in the shop were all included in the tighter policy concerning student discipline.

Administrators held long discussions on the problem of deteriorating public relations. A mid-winter administrative cabinet meeting was fairly typical: The first item on the agenda was the preparation of a school bus policy report for the next board meeting. The business manager listed the citations for the month: one for pulling stuffing out of a seat, one for throwing a lighted match out a window, two students caught chewing snoose (tobacco), 70 minor offenses, mostly missing the bus or taking another one to school. The superintendent said that if it got out that students were chewing tobacco on the buses, it would make the front page of the paper, and "We've had enough of that."

The administrators were a bit disturbed by a citizen recommendation that they patrol the high school parking area. There were many vendors, visitors, even students who had recently dropped out who might have legitimate reasons for being on the school grounds (to pick up transcripts, for example). One member suggested that perhaps the police might assist.

There was discussion about a meeting at the high school the previous Monday with a large number of mothers who were concerned about morality in the school, tobacco chewing, and threats to other students. The superintendent said, "Why are they after us on the morality issue all of a sudden?" There was a long pause; then a principal said that one reason was the controversial film shown about a month earlier. "People were frustrated at not getting at the school then, so they are taking it out on the school now." One principal said that the problems people were having with the county might be one factor in the attacks on the school. The high school principal said a lot more young people from the cities were going through his school. The students were learning more about the larger society than

they had in the past, and parents were scared to death that their children would "go hippie."

The superintendent asked if teachers were complaining to parents. A principal answered that they were. Several concerned parents had stated that teachers had told them that administrators were not backing teachers. The superintendent said, "Why are the teachers saying we don't support them?" Then he answered his own question, "Of course, that's always the way; the administration is accused of not backing the teachers." Another principal said, "I hope you will make the point that once a teacher sends a student to my office, it is no longer his or her problem. They have relinquished authority over the matter."

The superintendent made the point that parents gave great credence to hearsay reports. Several parents had said to him, "I can't prove this, but I heard . . ." The high school principal gave an example. A mother had phoned, saying that a girl had threatened her daughter with a knife. The principal asked for specifics; did her daughter see the knife? The daughter was called to the phone and asked if the knife had been pointed at her. No, it had not. Had she seen the knife? No. Did the other girl have a knife in her purse? She did not remember if the girl had a purse. Why do you say she threatened you with a knife? Well, she talked to me in a way I thought she was going to attack me with a knife.

A principal resigned because of what he stated in his letter of resignation was "the low esteem in which the administrators are held." Another principal, who had maintained the utmost poise before a CCE meeting three years earlier, nearly lost his temper in a meeting where teachers were questioning school board candidates. The issue was on administrators' salaries.

Another principal told the ES coordinating council that one of the advantages of federal funds was that they were "soft money" which permitted flexibility. "When we go through all of the rigamarole of developing programs with local funds, we are stuck with the results for a million years." The approach was cheerful and positive, but it differed from the attitude at the beginning of the ES project that federal funds permitted permanent resolutions to problems.

During this period, the principals bargained hard for pay increases. They had bargained collectively for the first time in 1974. The following year, they considered organizing, but rejected the idea as a threat to the teamwork approach of administration. In 1976, they presented the school board with a request for higher salaries, documented by data that percentage-wise their pay raises were smaller than those for other districts in the state. Their representative pointed out that in South Umpqua, the advantages of principals over teachers were narrowing and that the responsibilities of principals were increasing far faster than their incomes. "Principals are required to remain current on educational law, on court decisions, on national guidelines. I can remember when a principal had one reference book in his library, a dictionary. Now I have shelves of reference books in my office."

The fact that administrators were widely seen as being overpaid already was mentioned only briefly by the school board as a political point to consider. The disclosure by the newspapers of high administrative pay had been on a per-pupil or per-school basis. The principals' argument for high pay was on an unmeasurable per-unit of responsibility.

The budget was defeated in April of 1976. A revised budget was defeated in August, three weeks before school was to open. A special board meeting was called to decide whether to open school that year. There the board voted to try to make it through until the next authorized election date, September 21.

SUMMARY

During the continuation years of the South Umpqua ES project, the teachers, classified employees, community, and schools were all drifting into adversary relationships with the administration and, in some cases, with each other. Expressions of shock when other districts in southwest Oregon experienced even more severe dislocations suggested the novelty of the developments. The administration became controversial, direct public participation increased enormously, personnel disputes became subjects of general concern, and student conduct became an item of public adjudication. Parents responded in large numbers to the need for parent volunteers, mini-

course teachers, chaperones, and other volunteer services. Then they voted down the budget. The welfare of students was much esteemed; at the same time, efforts to reform, rather than merely "trim," the schools were gaining credence, and challenging the form of the school was no longer seen as contrary to the long-term benefit of the students.

High faculty turnover, which earlier had been seen as a function of school district consolidation, turned out to be an enduring condition. Only a core of faculty remained employed in the district during the entire ES period. The problem of faculty upgrading was necessarily complicated. Many of the teachers who saw the project through were most responsive to workshops on staff development at the beginning of the project, and also were the most active in collective bargaining and grievance hearings. The lines of cause and effect are not clear, but if the schools had had either more or fewer long-term employees, the investment in staff development might have paid off differently.

CHAPTER EIGHT, EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS: THE FINAL YEAR

This chapter consists mainly of a chronology of the developing public reaction against the schools. I had extremely little opportunity to observe daily classroom activity, as events during the last year of ES funding were occurring at the same time as the final writing of this volume. The omission leaves a gap in the recounting of events, because it is apparent that the attitude of teachers was shifting during this time toward support of the administration. It is not clear whether this shift represents an actual change in attitude, or an altered environment of the schools in which latent supporters felt encouraged to speak out.

SUCCESSES AND FAILURES

This section will backtrack to the period immediately after the budget defeat in April of 1976 and begin with the school's preparations for the upcoming stormy year.

The school board and the budget committee met jointly after the election to discuss the budget defeat. There was considerable discussion of the vituperative letters to the editor which were beginning to appear regularly in the local newspapers, especially those charging that the schools were top heavy with administrators. Several members suggested that confusion between federally funded and locally funded programs was part of the problem. The board and budget committee agreed that members individually would inquire among their acquaintances as to the problems with the schools. The board also directed the superintendent to prepare a comparison of the district with others in the state.

Later the superintendent presented the comparative survey of school districts, and the budget committee reported a variety of responses to their inquiries. According to this inquiry, local residents were concerned about: taxes in general, high salaries of administrators, high salary of all personnel, federal funds, the behavior of specific administrators, lax discipline at the high school, and high budgets in general. Some residents also said that they distrusted communications

from the schools. There was a general consensus that an information system should be established to inform the public of corrective steps which were being taken. In sum, the school administration, school board, and budget committee perceived themselves as approaching a new school year in which they foresaw more difficulty than had been the case in the past in sensing the mood of the voters and in communicating with them collectively.

Summer board meetings, which traditionally had been preoccupied with such items as the details of financing and the hiring of new teachers, continued to respond to public objections before crowded audiences. Responses were made to demands for a closed campus. New parking dividers were installed to help monitor visitors at the high school. The county was asked to make Chadwick Lane, beside the high school, a no parking area.

Toward autumn newspaper articles and television newscasters began to state that schools in Oregon in general were in trouble. In 1973 the state legislature had decreed that budget elections could be held only on certain dates rather than on 90 days' notice. As the last election date before the opening of school in 1976 approached, 69 districts in the state or 20 more than at the same time the previous year, were without budgets. The school budget failed in South Umpqua in August, with only Canyonville, of the four precincts, voting for it. The board voted to open school on schedule, as did six other districts in southwest Oregon.

Long conferences between the school board and the administration were held to orient school board members, to assess the situation, and to establish goals. Some of these centered on the problem of maintaining morale among administrators. Traditionally, when a resident phoned a school board member to complain, he was directed to the appropriate administrator. Now school board members were becoming increasingly prone to promise to do something about a situation themselves, thereby raising expectations in the mind of the resident. When a board member confronted the appropriate principal and found the circumstances other than he had supposed, everybody lost. The resident who made the complaint felt let down, the principal felt his authority had been undermined, and the board member was caught in the middle. The superintendent stressed

that the school board should consider itself to be a representative of the state board of education, not as an autonomous local group.

One school board member ran an article in the local paper requesting residents to phone him at his home to discuss the schools. Of the more than 20 residents who responded, virtually all were exceedingly critical of the schools. Complaints were similar to those learned earlier by the budget committee. For instance, many of the more visible student activities--those which were carried on outside the classroom--did not seem to have obvious educational value. People were also worried about picking up the cost of ES when federal funds ran out. That schools should try harder to inform the public was another complaint. One resident said that the superintendent should have "kaffee klatches" with the residents. A number of callers stated that they had been highly influenced by a recent critical letter to the editor in the Mail.

The list of complaints was presented to a joint school board-budget committee meeting during an orientation meeting, which included a review of academic progress. Several administrators were puzzled that they were perceived as not stressing the basics. The superintendent protested:

> How many times do I have to tell these people that we have always stressed the basics? By all standard criteria this is an outstanding school district. Tests show the reading levels to be up. Our athletic program is one of the most successful in the state. A winning athletic program is usually a sign of academic achievement. Outside the district, South Umpqua has a reputation as one of the better schools in the state. We are seen as a pace-setting district. Each year one or more educational groups, touring the better schools in the nation, visit us. We have been recommended as one of the better school districts in the entire nation.

The high school principal reported that the drop out rate, although still too high, had fallen from 18% to 14% in the 1974-75 year. Similarly, the director of staff development gave a one hour slide show presentation of test scores in reading, mathematics, and language arts (Impact of South Umpqua Education, Grades 1-8, 1976). Scores on all three, as measured by California Achievement Tests given in the fall of 1974 and 1975 and the spring of 1976, showed dramatic improvement in all categories, with as much as a year and a half gain per year.

"Probably few school districts in the state have experienced the improvements in basic skills that South Umpqua has," he commented. "If we can keep going, we can catch up," he went on, noting that most grades still lagged behind national norms.

The most dramatic gains had occurred in grades one through three, where student achievement had gone from below national norms to above. The director of staff development stated that there was no way to pinpoint the source of the gain but it should be noted that federal ES funds had been concentrated in the first three grades, especially in providing aides to assist teachers. Gains in grades four through eight were much more modest, and there was some concern expressed by board members and administrators that pupils might be losing this excellent start in later grades.

During the weeks which followed, a number of teachers expressed considerable outrage that many parents interpreted newspaper accounts of that board meeting as evidence that student achievement scores were declining. The comparatively modest gain in grades four through eight was interpreted as student achievement "plummeting" in those grades. The fact that student test scores were still below national norms was interpreted as achievement dropping below national norms.

The superintendent calculated the district could continue to meet expenses through the next authorized election in September and might possibly make it till November by borrowing from the teachers' unemployment funds. If the budget were defeated in November, however, the school board might be held personally liable for the funds. During the first weeks of school, even the smallest decisions, such as raising the price of lunch milk or rescheduling bus routes, were made with possible voter impact in mind.

The adversary relations between teachers and administrators declined. For the first time a teacher committee helped select a new principal. Some board members, however, stated they were a bit disturbed about the choice because the schools were in danger of being sued for noncompliance with Title IX, which banned sexual discrimination in schools. Some board members had considered hiring a female principal, but the teachers preferred the male candidate who was hired.

The president of the South Umpqua Educational Association attended the first school board meeting of the year to discuss the teachers' detailed record keeping requirements. She stated that the teachers were generally satisfied with the arrangements which had been worked out, but that a principal's record keeping responsibilities should also be simplified. "I realize we do not represent the principals, but it is to our advantage for them to be happy," she stated dryly, amid accompanying chuckles. As she prepared to leave, the teachers' representative added that her group desired tighter control over interruptions from visitors. Then as she was leaving the room, she turned and added, "Oh, one more thing. The teachers are campaigning for the budget." If we can assume that placing a request for tighter control between two offers of support from the teachers was intentional, then the teachers had developed an enormous amount of bargaining expertise during four years of hard negotiations.

As the September 21 election date approached, the school board met, considered the various options, and voted to close the schools if the budget failed again, to try again in November, and to make up for lost time during the summer. The headline in the Mail read "SCHOOLS HAVE FUNDS FOR LESS THAN MONTH" (Sept. 16, 1976). The budget passed, 447 votes to 399, with all four precincts approving, and the schools remained open.

Other Oregon school districts were less fortunate. For the first time ever, Oregon voters had forced school closures as the result of repeated budget defeats. Each evening the local television news dwelt on the situation at North Bend school district on the coast and Eagle Point to the south, where the school doors were locked and crowds packed the auditoriums for public hearings. The budgets in both districts failed again in November, and two more school districts closed after as many as five budget defeats in a row. School closures in Oregon were featured on the national evening news at least four times and were heavily covered in the national press (Time, Dec. 20, 1976; Newsweek, Dec. 13, 1976). It was clear that the voters in Oregon had gained a national audience.

Public opposition to schools continued to intensify in South Umpqua. School board meetings continued to be heavily attended, and new objections were brought out at each meeting. The administrative cabinet

noted that the critics were a different group than the Concerned Citizens of several years earlier. "Of course, that had been about Experimental Schools." The most visible centers of the new opposition were an anti-administration campaign by a retired businessman and continuing action by what had been the Parent Patrol of the previous year.

The businessman warred as a lone individual, in spite of considerable effort to persuade him to run for the school board or otherwise become organizationally involved. As he left organizational meetings, residents slapped him on the back, shook his hand, and spoke with some familiarity about his next letter to the editor. It was obvious that he was developing a following. He stated in an interview that he did not object to school curriculum or taxes, but to a "lack of checks and balances;" in other words, to what I have called the "power base model" of the schools.

MACOS AND RELATED MATTERS

What had been the Parent Patrol shifted in emphasis from discipline the year before to objections about curriculum. The administration had seen the protest coming and had instituted formal challenge procedures, so that the situation would be governed by "rules of law, not rules of man."

The first challenge, early in the school year, was against the fifth grade social studies program, Man, A Course of Study (MACOS), which as a component of the ES project had replaced a survey of Latin America. The course focuses on the life cycles of the salmon, the herring gull, and the baboon, and the annual cycle of the Netsilik Eskimos of Canada. I had been called upon to guest lecture to classes every year because of my previous field work among the Eskimos of Arctic Alaska. The course was popular with the teachers, the students were responsive, and parents were supportive. It had been instituted as a pilot project in Tri-City elementary school in 1970. In 1973 it was instituted district-wide. The intern supervisor, who was in charge, stated in the fall of 1975 that one minister had inquired about the program and left after having been apparently satisfied with the explanation he was given. During 1976 one member of the Parent Patrol had included a complaint

about studying "an extinct tribe of Netsilik Eskimos" in a list of objections. Toward the end of the year, worried teachers were saying that they had heard rumors that people were complaining about the program. The intern supervisor explained that some religious fundamentalist had objected to a scene which included the drinking of blood because the Old Testament states that anyone who drinks blood shall be put to death.

Formal charges against MACOS in the fall of 1976 included teaching religion and immorality, harming students emotionally, and advocating secular humanism. Formal complainants included three members of the group which had been critical of the schools the year before and a highly intellectual minister, who inquired about the potential dangers of introducing secular humanism. According to several sources, the parents' objections had originally been about films shown in the schools. As the film review process developed, some teachers told them something to the effect that, if they thought those films were bad, they should see MACOS.

The panel which heard the charges consisted of two teachers, the vice superintendent, a principal, and a school board member. Meetings were held each Wednesday afternoon for three months. Hearings were strictly formal, following Robert's Rules of Order and using courtroom-like rules of evidence and testimony.

Films and texts for the course were reviewed, teachers were called in to testify, and the vice superintendent professionally surveyed research on MACOS. The challengers also heavily researched the program. They usually appeared at hearings with carefully recorded notes on such items as how many times violence was mentioned in a text. One group expressed concern that the course would undermine morals parents taught in the home. "I am not opposed to teaching religion as a subject matter; students should know of the existence of the major religions in the world. But I cannot see any benefit to the students to concentrate for six weeks on a religion that dwells on fear and dread and suspicion, not on love and hope." The minister read a long statement which he described as self-inquiry. In general, he was concerned not with the loss of faith in any one religion but with the possibility of loss of faith in general. According to the authors he cited, Western expansion has resulted in far

more destruction in terms of the undermining of faith of the conquered peoples than in terms of invasion itself. Meetings ended on a congenial note. The committee thanked the witnesses for their contributions and in turn were thanked for their patience.

While the challenge proceedings were continuing, the school board was undergoing conflicts of its own. Increasingly there were split votes, tabled motions, and motions which died for lack of a second. The "team" model of previous years had been expeditious. Such questions as whether a quorum would be available for a special meeting on any given date had been quickly settled, because everyone knew each other's schedules and orders of priority. Such quick assessments of situations were becoming increasingly difficult.

One recently elected school board member resigned, stating the following reasons: lack of board support for teachers, the board not following its own policy, and the discussion of personnel matters in open rather than in closed meetings. Board members recommended a total of nine candidates for her replacement, then tabled replacement because, "We will all just vote for our own candidate anyway." The superintendent read his letter of resignation at the December board meeting, giving inability to work with the school board as a major reason. The resignation created something of a sensation among teachers and others, as it came unexpectedly at a time when there was much speculation as to what direction the course of school development would take.

Meanwhile, the MACOS controversy was coming to dominate the front and editorial pages of the Mail, the Canyon Creek Current, and the Roseburg News Review. The emphasis of the opponents shifted toward objections to "wife swapping," bestiality, infanticide, parenticide, the need for moral absolutes, and the dangers of communism and secular humanism. Some of these objections can be traced to an anti-textbook circular sent through the mail to residents of Myrtle Creek and Roseburg by a nation-wide group, which called itself "The Christian Family Renewal."

For the first time, after eight grassroots citizens' protest movements in four years, residents regularly began to describe their community as "divided," or "factionalized," or "split." Blame for the troubled situation was placed on any one of a large number of potential sources: the superintendent, the teachers, religious fundamentalists,

political conservatives, "Californians," "transplants," etc. As recently as the previous year it had often been awkward to engage new acquaintances in discussions of the schools because to do so forced the conversation. During the MACOS hearings even total strangers were often eager to give their opinions. To give a few examples:

A locally born, long haired, bearded mill worker: "What do you do?"

"I'm an anthropologist. I work for a research company. I am researching the impact of federal aid to education."

"You mean the MACOS thing in South Ompqua?"

"Yes, that is financed with federal funds."

"...We don't have MACOS here in Riddle, but they did show a film on Eskimos at the school. What my daughter remembered most was that they blew the head off a cute little baby seal. I guess it was gory, because my daughter came home kind of shook....Well, at least she learned that Eskimos aren't living in igloos any more. I can see both sides, but why do they keep it if it is so controversial. I would think they would want to get rid of anything that caused that much dissension."

A prominent citizen of pioneer stock put it this way:

"I have not been able to follow the thing at school too closely, but I want you to have my opinion. They say that ignorance is bliss. Well, sometimes it's true. Maybe it's true that there are people in Africa who chop off their mother's heads, or cut off their big toes and throw them in the stew pot but I don't think we need to know that. I don't feel the least bit smarter when I learn such things."

Harmony is highly valued in South Umpqua. If a formal organization is divided on a topic, it might continue deliberation until a unanimous vote is apparent. Members who are still skeptical might vote with the majority "for the record." Similarly, if the public is divided, minority or divided groups might remain silent for a time, so as "not to make matters worse." However, if it appears that the results of citizen protest might be irreversible, contradictory citizens' movements might develop.

Scattered support of MACOS began appearing in January of 1977. Formal organization developed only after signs of support became evident.

The most vigorous supporter of MACOS was Michael Hallinan, a jack of many trades, who had come to the area two years earlier and had opened the first bookstore in Myrtle Creek. He immediately became active in affairs, organizing, among other things, a successful drive sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce to get local residents recorded in the Guiness Book of Records. Hallinan wrote a six-part, front page series on the MACOS controversy for the leading county newspaper, the Roseburg News Review. One result was that more groups made mutual accusations of trying to divide the community.

Hallinan also became the most visible representative of a group called Citizens Advocating Responsible Education (CARE). The Myrtle Creek Chamber of Commerce endorsed a statement supporting MACOS, presented by CARE. The following week, the agenda of the Canyonville Breakfast Club included the intern supervisor explaining MACOS and Michael Hallinan representing CARE. The club had requested to see the controversial films. They were not available, so the intern supervisor presented a description of the course and then opened the subject to questions. One teacher at the meeting defended the course, saying that students were highly interested in it. Several members were concerned about implications that the school was teaching evolution. Some were concerned about the possible arbitrariness in moral teaching; should not Biblical teaching be included as well as evolution and Eskimo religion? One attendent defended the course because she remembered how bad the previous offerings had been when her son was a student. The problem of student delinquency was brought up several times, as both supporters and skeptics of the discipline system spoke out.

Hallinan read the statement supporting MACOS, which began that the signers "uphold the rights of all citizens to challenge the programs, procedures, and directions of the public schools," and went on to state the Constitutional guarantees on separation of church and state, and that the schools "must never be allowed to usurp the prerogatives of home and church in the teaching of religious beliefs and values." The Breakfast Club decided not to endorse the statement as an organization, but left each member to decide whether to sign the petition for himself.

The MACOS dispute derived from generalized objections about the films used in the schools. One of the complainants in the MACOS hearings, who researched the movies used in the course, also researched films used in the school in general. She included an objection to some films among the long list of detailed criticisms of school activities she regularly brought out at school board meetings. She described each film briefly and stated that they encouraged children to consider lying, cheating, and bullying, taught children to disbelieve what they had been taught at home, and exposed children to gory, horrible scenes.

A special showing was arranged for the most objectionable film, "The Lottery," made from a short story of the same name by Shirley Jackson. As with other special showings of films, the occasion was public but it was not announced. Most of the 30-some parents present were personal acquaintances of the critics of the schools. The film used surrealistic contrast to leave an unanswered question in the minds of the viewers. A wholesome, typical small town population held an annual lottery to select a member--in this case a housewife and mother--to be stoned to death. The unanswered question was "Why?" Tradition? Magical supplication? Something else?

At the end of the showing, one member interjected angrily, "If that's education, I'm glad I'm dumb." Other questions were directed toward curriculum. What was the educational value? How has it been reviewed? The superintendent answered politely that the short story was a standard high school text in many schools, but movies, made from stories, might not be as good. Other accusations were made. The superintendent left, saying that the group was welcome to continue reviewing the films. He may or may not have left to forestall further conflict.

More special showings of films were arranged. The next one was announced in the paper and widely discussed boforehand. The following conversation occurred at the Canyonville Breakfast Club:

> "You've heard, haven't you, that they're having a public showing of those MACOS movies they were supposed to show here last week and didn't?"
>
> "Yes, at the Little Theater."

"Where in tarnation is the Little Theater? Why aren't they showing them in the multipurpose room or the library?"

The implication that the school was in some way trying to obscure the facts or to make the public unwelcome was quite widespread.

The Little Theater, where the high school plays are normally held, was jammed, with even standing room scarce. The audience included prominent citizens, friends of the schools, critics of the schools, classified personnel, teachers, and general population. The showing was not about MACOS, which was scheduled for another time, but about other films. During the introduction several people asked about the courses in which the films were shown, stating that they wanted to judge the material in context. The parent who had done the most to organize the showing answered politely. The atmosphere was that of fair play.

The films included a reshowing of "The Lottery," two parts from the "Inside Out" series, which showed grade school children working their way through moral dilemmas, and the television production, "The People Next Door," starring Lloyd Bridges. The latter, which was highly influential, as evidenced by later comment, was of a respected middle class family who secretly engaged in conduct disapproved of socially and whose children became involved in a tragic cycle of drug abuse. The use of the films in the classrooms was explained at the end, and another special showing was announced for the following week.

The next special showing was held in the larger multipurpose room, which also serves as the cafeteria. More than 300 residents were present in what was probably the largest turnout for an ad hoc event in the school's history. The school had 22 films available for showing, but the board, which was also present, decided to show only those which had been questioned. The superintendent explained the difference between required and optional instructional material. The Myrtle Creek junior high principal told the audience that "The Lottery" and an accompanying film, "Joseph Schultz" were shown in a language arts elective taken by about 10% of the seventh and eighth graders. The class was required to write a 250-word account of a personal experience about standing up for individual rights or of going along with the crowd, the point of both films. The director of staff development summarized reviews of the short story,

"The Lottery." One parent objected that the reviews were about the story, not the film.

Three films from the "Inside Out" series were shown, one dealing with a child responding to death in the family, one with a child from a troubled family, and one of a child who was dared by her playmates to jump in front of a moving Volkswagen. "The Lottery" was shown for the third time, along with its accompanying film. "The People Next Door," which was scheduled to be shown, had been checked out from IED by another school district and was not available.

At the end of the showings about 15 members of the audience made definitive statements about them. One parent drew loud applause on two occasions when she objected that the schools were dealing with subject matters which were the prerogative of parents. "I object to the "Inside Out" films. I do not think that we, as parents, pay the school to take care of emotional problems. We will deal with questions of divorce, death, and sex. The school should deal with education."

All three major challengers of the MACOS films spoke out. One asked why the MACOS films had not been shown and was told that they were scheduled for the following week. Two teachers who tried to speak were told to sit down. Several parents asked how to file formal complaints, and the vice superintendent explained the process. The hearings lasted until 11 o'clock. Recognizable supporters of the schools began leaving two hours earlier.

There was considerable discussion among teachers and administrators the following week about the fate of the schools and about the upcoming MACOS hearings. The committee hearing the formal charges against MACOS had voted four to one in favor of continuing the program. The dissenting vote was cast by the school board member on the committee. The superintendent had recommended against one of the committee's proposals, that alternative classes be made available to those children whose parents objected to the course, on the grounds that it assumed school board prerogative, and recommended acceptance of the rest of the report. The school board had postponed its decision until after a public hearing.

The MACOS teachers and school administrators met for a roundtable discussion of the problem. It was a novel situation in that in the past,

administrators had made a point of not discussing administrative problems in the presence of teachers, and teachers would not complain to each other in the presence of administrators. The superintendent said that he had supposed his resignation would cause community pressure to die down, but instead it had intensified. He added that he was not the type to admit defeat, but in this case he was concerned for the safety of the teachers.

Administrators shared their respective estimates as to whether cancelling MACOS would end the controversy. One gave a firm evaluation that People and Technology would be next, and so on, until parent monitors were stationed in the classrooms.

The teachers seemed unanimously in favor of continuing the program, but expressed different opinions as to whether they should admit defeat and cancel the fifth grade social studies in mid-year or go down protesting in the hope that another group would favor reintroducing the program some time in the future. Teachers gave a number of examples of what they interpreted as slander or misinterpretation, that the teachers were "between the sheets" all the time, that they had students role play baboons copulating, and so on. The final decision was that they would recommend continuation of the course.

In the meanwhile, Norma Gabler, a Texas textbook analyst and writer for the Christian Family Renewal publication, "Sex Education and Mental Health Report," spoke at the county seat of Roseburg against the decadence of modern school textbooks. The regional meeting was attended by about 50 people, about a third as many as attended the local meetings in South Umpqua. Mrs. Gabler spoke about inclusion of violence, gutter language, and street ethics in grade school textbooks. Her position, as she stated it, was "When you teach social change, you are treading on my values." About one fourth of the two hour talk was against MACOS. Mrs. Gabler set up arguments for the program, that it didn't really teach wife swapping, cannabalism, parenticide, and so on, then demolished each argument, and summarized that MACOS was part of a dangerous trend toward teaching social change.

It was obvious that Christian Family Renewal was not tapping a groundswell against modern textbooks because if it was, the crowd would

have been larger. It was obvious also that the organization was articulating a vague discontent about schools at a national level. The public was not necessarily conservative as such, but conservative organizations were providing leadership for the discontent.

The February school board meeting at which the MACOS hearings were to be conducted was also held in the high school multipurpose room. The crowd was not quite as large as that at the special showings the previous week. About 20 teachers were present. Word had circulated among the teachers that the vice superintendent planned to direct the "hate" toward himself and away from the teachers.

The parent who had spearheaded the campaign spoke first. She showed two films, one on baboons and one showing an Eskimo winter camp. At the end, the individuals who had protested the course gave their reasons: they objected to people being compared with animals, they objected to role playing, the course emphasized cruelty to animals, gore, and unchristian attitudes. The course had been repudiated by noted psychologists, 58 publishers had turned down the course, and achievement tests in South Umpqua showed a decline at the fourth, fifth, and sixth grade levels. The parent, who was protesting the course, ended with a resounding speech. "They say we should accept people for what they are. I say we should judge people by how they behave. If people (Eskimos) behave in a cruel and inhuman way, they should be judged as cruel and inhuman."

The vice superintendent provided a spirited counter offensive. The 58 publishers had turned down the course for economic reasons; they were allowed only 3% royalties. The student test scores were not declining, but had increased from 40% scoring below national norms, to the first three grades scoring above national norms for the first time, and the other grades approaching those norms. Role playing was not a dirty word. The films did not show a gull being stoned to death, and so on. At the end the vice superintendent received a long standing ovation from the teachers and about a dozen other members of the audience.

Notebooks had been passed around during the showing of the films for members of the audience to sign if they wanted to speak for or against the course. About 20 people signed up, approximately the same number

for and against. The school board decided to alternate between the pros and cons. Those who spoke out against the course included such objections as: it prepared students to accept evolution; it was too expensive and accomplished little; alternative courses which had been promised for children of parents who objected to it consisted of sending the students to the library; and even one mention of wife trading was entirely too much.

Supporters of the program included: prominent businesspersons and ministers who stated that the morals of the children were not being undermined; parents who stated that their children had benefitted from the course; and citizens who stated that their rights were being infringed upon by a minority. The president of the South Umpqua Educational Association, a highly articulate church lay reader and teacher, gave an oratorical plea for the public to stop burdening the teachers. She also received a long standing ovation.

The meeting lasted for five hours. This time it was the critics of the schools who were seen leaving early. Toward the end teacher after teacher entered testimony into the record in favor of the course.

My opportunity to observe immediate teacher reaction was confined to the following afternoon spent at the Myrtle Creek elementary school. Some teachers were ecstatic at the change in the course of public attitude. Some of these said they had been seriously considering resigning from the profession before the show of public support. Others were a bit concerned that teachers had spoken out on policy matters in public for the first time ever, and added that they were glad it had come at the end of the meeting when many members of the audience had left.

The board meeting at which the MACOS decision was on the agenda was also held in the high school multipurpose room. The crowd was much smaller than before, with about 75 people present, leaving many chairs empty. An opponent of MACOS presented the board with a petition with some 900 signatures. The board deliberated for about 40 minutes on the subject. One member was clearly in favor of terminating the program immediately. Others were in favor of continuing the course. Another member proposed that the course be continued for the remainder of the year, then dropped. This last option was adopted, along with a proviso that special social studies programs be established for students whose parents

objected to MACOS. There was applause from the audience.

The vote did not end the MACOS controversy entirely. The Oregon Educational Association officially announded that it was considering suing the school board for violation of academic freedom. An announcement in the newspapers that the formal hearings on MACOS had cost the school district $10,000 was challenged, also in the newspapers.

WINDING DOWN EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS

The superintendent presented a budget of $3,886,225 for the 1977-78 school year, including a request for $78,545 to carry on portions of the ES project as federal support was phased out. When the proposed budget was presented to the ES Coordinating Council, one member asked why items were being called Experimental Schools programs, rather than letting items be considered on their own merit. He said that classifying the items gave the public something to aim at. The instructional leader explained that the committee had decided this was the most honest approach. Not to refer to ES might be perceived as trying to slip something past the voters.

The new budget represented an increase of about 21% over that of the previous year. The superintendent noted that about 25% of the district's expenditures had been covered by federal funds for five years. They had helped bring about a 63% growth in reading scores, a 65% growth in mathematics, a 67% growth in language, and a 30% growth in spelling, as measured by the California Achievement Tests. The scores showed a composite student gain of 55% district wide. He added that other areas, such as athletics, music, and college performance, all indicated that "Education in the South Umpqua district is doing fairly well." Despite the gains, he said, students were still two months behind the national average in reading and math, four months behind in language, and seven months behind in spelling. "The budget in hand shows what the staff thinks it needs to continue needed programs without federal funds," the superintendent added. "The decision you make in the next few weeks will establish the direction for the community."

CHAPTER NINE, SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATIONS

School districts in southwest Oregon have been swept by an unprecedented and unpredicted taxpayer revolt. Opposition to schools is directed at the form rather than the function of schools, and is an attempt to reform rather than trim school organization. Opposition to school systems developed along with a major national change of values and a reversal of traditional migration patterns, and so can be considered to be a consequence of these changes. At the time of the conception of the idea of Experimental Schools, progress and urbanization were almost synonymous, and there was not even a term for "ruralization." In south Oregon a basic tenet of the federal ES program, that children in rural America were "deprived," in the sense that rural resources were not highly valued nationally, proved to be false.

The increasing value of rural assets has created a rather complex change in rural social systems, the most obvious of which are: rural assets became scarcer and more expensive as demand increased faster than supply; and the number and variety of leaders, or opinion-makers, sharply increased as the population responded to the challenge of change in the traditional American style by forming new common interest groups. This, in turn, resulted in a "flattening" of the social system, as once unequally valued styles of life (tobacco chewing, deer poaching, church going), became options. Local residents placed less value on the authority of administrators, which had once been highly valued. Problems have developed between people in authority and the increasingly assertive public, either because the public is expected to adopt traditional rural strategies which no longer work (e.g., install septic tanks designed for farm land), or because they are expected to adopt urban solutions to rural problems (e.g., chlorinating water). Some decision-making bodies, such as town councils, are so vulnerable to public pressure that they

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might quickly give in before much oppositon develops. Other bodies, such as the Army Corps of Engineers or the Department of Environmental Quality, are so relatively invulnerable that organizing effective opposition is a major task. The schools are intermediate, being neither excessively fragile nor rigid, and so educational issues become major public battlegrounds.

LOCAL VIEWS OF THE SCHOOLS

The following excerpts from loosely structured interviews provide insight on how the schools in South Umpqua became a focal point of conflict during the ES program. At the end of each interview, I asked for suggestions for someone I might talk with next. Residents almost invariably answered something like, "Well, if you want to talk with someone whose attitude is exactly the opposite of mine, you might talk with...." The results are not representative, but they suggest different viewpoints of the MACOS and ES-related conflict.

A housewife had asked whether the interview was to be private or in a group. I said either way was fine, so she invited friends.

> What would you like to say to the people who make decisions?
>
> The schools lied to us! I can prove that the schools lied to us. They gave a series of apparently arbitrary actions by the schools to [students]. You should talk to these people. You should talk to the high school graduates. When I circulated that petition, I didn't pressure one person to sign, I just said, "Here is something you might be interested in," and we got 900 signatures.

Another mother:

> I am not against homework. Don't put me down as ever having said I was against homework, but when my child can't even find the time to take a shower after school, they are pushing her too hard.

The first mother:

> And they let the school buildings run down. That Myrtle Creek elementary building is a disgrace. Torn shades, leaky roofs.

A father:

> There was that one broken window that was left unrepaired for three months. Finally a parent repaired it.

How do you feel things might have been different?

We don't want teachers telling us we're dumb. They tell us we're trying to protect our children from the real world. We're not trying to shelter our children. I've had three children go through the fifth grade. Do you think I don't know how to compare one fifth grade teacher with another? I think there are parents whose first children are going through, who take what the teachers say, but we veterans can tell one teacher from another.

When we told them that students were bringing switch blade knives to school, they told us that we didn't know what we were talking about. Well, Henderson got one of those switch blade knives and plopped it down in front of the superintendent and said, "Here's that knife you said wasn't allowed on the school grounds." Of course there are shop students who carry pocket knives to pick splinters out of their fingers, but switch blades?

Do you think your school taxes are going to go up or down?

They are going to go up. The schools tell us we don't care about children. We don't care about education. That Experimental Schools application said interest in education is low. Well, I'll tell you, I don't know one parent in this valley who doesn't want something better for their children than they had. Oh, there are some one-parent families who concentrate on just surviving, but everyone else wants the best education for their children that money can buy.

Another mother:

Like it said in the letter to the editor last week, you can't pay a good teacher enough, and a bad teacher is always overpaid.

First mother:

Take Mr. Hallowell, for example. He never lays a finger on a student, but he maintains absolute discipline in the classroom, and his students just adore him.

Were the budget defeats for economic reasons?

Of course not. Budget elections are the only way we can be heard.

Do you think the MACOS thing was about MACOS?

I think there were enough of us who were concerned about MACOS that it gave other people a place to come. You see, people are mad at the schools for a number of reasons, and MACOS gave people a place to gather.

How do you feel about federal funds to education?

It's all right if there aren't too many strings attached. Now, may I ask you a question? Was the cafeteria built with federal funds?

No, that was a fluke in the tax returns. The school district received more taxes than anticipated that year.

And another thing, what is this Title IX?

Title IX is a law banning sex discrimination in schools.

Well, we're against Title IX. We'll fight it right down the line.

A mother interviewed in her home.

Is there anything you would like the decision-makers out there to know?

The schools have no business teaching religion. Secular humanism is a religion. It teaches that the Bible is wrong, that man is the highest order of creation. If the schools are going to teach humanism, they should present both sides. I am against conditioning. That's brainwashing. They teach the students that they should accept homosexuals. I say they should not accept homosexuals. I don't want my child to become a homosexual.

How do you think things might have been difficult?

If they hadn't tried to brainwash the students. If they hadn't tried to brainwash the teachers. There are a lot of good things in Experimental Schools. The art program is good. The music program is good. My daughter loves her teacher.

Do you feel the budget defeats were for economic reasons?

Some people voted against the budget for economic reasons. I voted against it because I didn't like school policy.

Do you feel the MACOS thing was against MACOS?

MACOS was a clear example of children being taught to doubt the teachings of their parents. If you put the blacks up, you're putting the whites down. If you put

the women up, as in Woman's Lib, you're putting the men down. If you put the bad students up, you're putting the good students down, and I don't think you should put the good students down.

How do you feel about federal funds for education?

If they spend the money on things like MACOS, they can keep it. [There was a long pause.] I think federal funds should be spent on new buildings, things of lasting value.

A large, cohesive family living in the hills:

What would you like to tell the decision-makers?

The schools here are a lot better than they were where I went to school. I remember a time in college where the professor walked in on the first day of class without introducing himself and sat down in the middle of the room. He was a young professor, so they thought he was another student. Finally, he said, "I'll start by calling the roll," and without being told to do so, every student moved his desk to face the professor. They were heavy lab type desks, not easy to move. That wasn't education. That was conditioned response.

How do you think things might have been different?

The supporters of the school never got organized. A lot of them don't know each other personally. When we came here Myrtle Creek had a population of 1,600, now it's over 3,000. A lot of the supporters don't attend church, and churches are the only political forums in this area. You've heard of CARE [Citizens Advocating Responsible Education]. They went through eight members, trying to get someone to run for the school board.

Do you think the budget failures were for economic reasons?

I think some people feel threatened. I think they feel put down. If someone with a college education moves in here, and doesn't buy a house with a white picket fence around it, then speaks out in favor of the school, some people feel they're being put down.

Do you think the MACOS thing was about MACOS?

I'll give the anti-MACOS group credit. They know how to organize. No, I think it was bigger than MACOS.

How do you feel about federal funds for education?

The schools need federal funds. This thing about too many strings being attached is just an excuse for not going after federal funds.

A relative newcomer:

What would you like to tell the people who make decisions?

Tell them the roofs leak. Tell them the gym floor wobbles. The school received an estimate that they could replace the Canyonville gym floor for $1,200. Then Abel, the builder, crawled underneath and found dry rot. He estimates it will cost at least $7,000 to replace the floor. One of these days the state is going to condemn a building, then we will really have a tax bill on our hands....

How do you think things might have been different?

I think the administrative complex was a mistake. People go there for school board meetings and see all that paneling. Then they go to the schools. They can't help but make comparisons.

The telephone rang, and the lady of the house answered, saying she could not talk now because she was being interviewed, but the caller should phone a school board member and tell him they would vote against the budget if cuts were not restored, and they should get their friends to call board members.

Did I hear you right? You are going to vote down the budget because it is too small?

Essentially yes. If they are going to be bloodthirsty, they should cut into athletics. Each of their cuts is reasonable in itself, but if they are going to be bloodthirsty, they should cut across the board.

How do you feel about federal aid to education?

I think it should be examined very carefully. It might not be the blessing it promises. I think Title I [aid to the disadvantaged] is a blessing. Actually I think the state has given the school more problems than has the federal government. Where I went to school the mentally retarded just warmed seats. Nobody expected anything of them. Okay, the state says, "Educate the mentally retarded." That's just wonderful, but if the state names the game, it should pick up the tab. Now I'm going to ask you a question. You've been here longer than I have. How do you perceive the situation?

It appears to me that there is a greater variety of leadership than there was a few years ago. According to the books on community study, the first thing I am supposed to do is locate the opinion makers. It is getting so it isn't easy.

Both husband and wife burst out laughing:

It isn't easy. It isn't easy. We are after the schools because of the buildings. That other group is after the schools because of MACOS. The poor superintendent is getting it from all sides.

A bus driver, returning to the "barn" with an otherwise empty bus:

I took this job because I wanted to find out what was going on in the school. If you went on what people in the community were saying, the students were monsters. I am going to tell you most students are just precious. Not all of them. I was one of the parent patrol people. There was this one case I saw of a girl coming to school freaked out. A teacher told her to leave. No teachers should have to take the type of language those teachers took from her. And she probably just got a slap on the wrist.

How do you think things might have been different?

You can put this in the record if you want. The people would have passed the budget on the first try if it hadn't been for the schools.

How is that?

Too many administrators.

How do you feel about federal aid to education?

I have nothing against government money.

To a teacher.

What would you like the decision-makers out there to know?

It's been an exciting four years. I have been allowed to develop my own programs. I wasn't pressured into adopting anything I couldn't handle. It's been hell, with angry parents and gossip about teachers, but I'll always be a better teacher for it.

How do you think it will be in the future?

I am going to give it one more year. I have a job offer in another school, but I am going to give it one more year before I decide whether to stay.

I love this town. I love the people here. Some of my own students live right here in this neighborhood. I could never teach in a city again. I am going to give it one more year to see if things settle down.

Do you think Experimental Schools could have developed differently?

I think it was doomed from the start. We teachers just don't have the expertise to develop new programs. They told us to develop new programs, and we stayed up nights developing new programs. Now we have the new programs, but, oh Lordie, the misery in between.

Do you think the budget defeats were for economic reasons?

I think they were 80 percent economic. There was a certain groundswell against school policies, and that contributed to budget defeats.

Do you think the MACOS thing was about MACOS?

Some of it was anti-MACOS. Some parents are afraid they will lose their children. They are afraid their children will grow up differently than they wish. A lot of people who were mad at the schools for other reasons joined in. If the only question had been MACOS, the course would have made it.

How would you describe the changes in the district during the last five years?

I can't believe the changes. The changes in this school are incredible. There is no way I could have believed two years ago that I would be standing up at a school board meeting and applauding the vice superintendent. Teachers' attitudes have changed because the issues have changed.

I remember a discussion I had with the principal not long ago. She is very supportive, and I have the utmost respect for her. I said, "If we teachers disapprove of a situation, we have an obligation to try to change it." She replied, "If you disapprove of a situation, you have an obligation to get out." A lot of teachers felt that way a few years back. The change in attitude has been incredible.

How do you feel about federal funds to education?

We need federal funds. This is the poorest district in the state. There is no way we could have developed curriculum without federal funds.

Another teacher at the same school:

> What would you like to tell the people who make decisions about federal aid to education?
>
> Well, I feel that the social studies program benefitted from federal funds by allowing greater flexibility in curriculum. I feel that we have to revise curriculum periodically in any case, and Experimental Schools provided a useful opportunity to proceed.
>
> How do you think things might have been different?
>
> ES started off on the wrong note. Nobody seemed to know who was responsible for what. Teachers would work hard on a project, and someone else would receive the credit. I feel we would have had more acceleration if we had had a different beginning.
>
> The schools have had a communications problem. We have more parents coming to school who critically inquire about curriculum. I have to spend more time explaining programs, overcoming skepticism, to parents. I feel the superintendent tried to get the story across, but somehow it didn't happen.
>
> Do you feel the budget was voted down for economic reasons?
>
> They were out to get the school. I hated to go shopping after school, because my friends would tell me, "We are going to vote against the budget."
>
> Do you feel the MACOS thing was against MACOS?
>
> MACOS was a target. People used MACOS as a means of getting at the schools. We have had parents come to this school, who said they wanted to learn about MACOS because they were against it.

ANALYSIS

The consistent response that MACOS was not an isolated target did not come as a surprise. Administrators, teachers, pro- and anti-MACOS residents remarked spontaneously that the anti-MACOS movement was a "target" or a "strategy," not the ultimate objective of the opposition movement.

The public perceived that: student accomplishment was declining; delinquency was on the increase; the school budget was growing; and treatment of children was becoming arbitrary. In contrast, the school administration perceived that: academic accomplishment was rising; delinquency was, at worst, remaining stable; the budget, after adjustments

for inflation, was declining; and achievement testing, as well as other treatment of students, was becoming systematized. There is no reason to assume insincerity or lack of insight on the part of the public. Instead public perception may be seen as influenced by three factors. Such terms as "frills in the curriculum," "fat in the budget," and "discipline in the classroom," are part of a special language by which school and community communicate. The words in the language have different meanings to different people. Teachers who see themselves as underpaid, for example, may express their concern in terms of an intolerable load of student delinquency to control. As citizens become more directly concerned with school affairs and assume greater direct authority over them, they concentrate more on problems which need to be solved, and those problems, in relation to public responsibility, become larger. When a skeptical public is approached by individuals who assume the role of "expert," they respond by assuming the role of "conservative," a reference point which does not require them to acknowledge the authority of the experts.

Observers in other parts of the nation have seen the MACOS controversy as being between cultural relativists and cultural prescriptivists. In South Umpqua observations, interviews, wide swings in the results of budget elections, and the many years during which MACOS was taught without arousing controversy, all suggest a more complicated model. Some teachers, who have wide contacts in the communities, call the attitude of the opponents "neo-conservative." That is, these teachers perceive the opposition as neither wanting to cling to nor return to the past, but to develop a new variation on the traditional system, independently of state or national policy.

The common answer to the question, "Were the budget defeats primarily for economic reasons?" was so obvious that it was embarrassing to ask. When the question was asked to a group, as in a faculty lounge, it sometimes provoked general laughter. One prominent citizen stated a generally held position clearly at a school board meeting. "Nowhere on the ballot does it ask, 'Do you approve of school policy?'" In South Umpqua budget elections are viewed, in part, as a medium of communications

between the schools and the public. It is a mutually agreed upon special language by which a wide variety of special problems are discussed. Schools and legislators might be required to take aspects of taxpayer concern literally, but, in doing so, they might end up talking at cross purposes with the public.

As recently as 1973 the idea of an Oregon school district operating without a budget was perceived as a contradiction in terms. In 1977 such situations were becoming so frequent that school teachers, who had purchased homes and were raising families, began looking for employment elsewhere because of the insecurity of their teaching jobs. A glance at the map shows that the problem is a function of southwest Oregon, not the state as a whole or its rural districts as a class. The five counties most affected are characterized by scenic outdoor grandeur, mild climate, friendly small town settings, and considerable cultural attractions such as the Ashland Shakespearean Festival.

The one exception to the districts in the southwest quadrant of the state which are experiencing taxpayer revolts is La Grande in eastern Oregon, which had an "extended Christmas vacation," after five consecutive budget failures. Like southwest Oregon, La Grande is characterized by forested mountains, where parents quiet their children on motor trips by asking who will be the first to see the next deer.

That it is the most "livable" areas which are experiencing budget problems is understandable if we note changes in traditional migration patterns. In the 1950s a net of five million people left non-metropolitan areas. The decline slowed in the 1960s, then dramatically reversed, with a net growth in non-metropolitan areas of 4.2 percent between 1970 and 1973 (Beale 1975:3-7). Most types of rural areas experienced population growth, but not at the same rate. It should follow that those areas of Oregon which are physically and socially attractive should experience the most immigration early. It is just such areas which are having trouble sustaining budgets for schools, municipalities, and junior college districts.

Most, if not all, taxpayer revolts include both newcomers and old-timers, and such revolts may be led by either type of resident. Immigration is consistent with proliferation of formal organizations, recruitment

of people who traditionally are not joiners, and training in formal leadership. There are more organizational points from which opposition may occur, more individuals experienced in organizing, and fewer central organizational points at which citizen opposition can be intercepted. Some church ministers, who supported MACOS, are said to have lost congregation members; their followers had abundant opportunity to express opposition to the program through other organizations to which they belonged.

In addition, immigration helps create a social environment in which protest movements may occur. In Chapter 3 I listed changes which were occurring in the communities during the 1970s. I will list them again in relation to how they affect the schools.

> 1. The social system is becoming "flat." Traditionally, if a school teacher, custodian, housewife, or other responsible citizen became disturbed by conditions in the schools, they informed a minister or other trusted leader of the community, who presumably would pass the word on to the school board members or administrators. During the 1970s, however, in addition to using the traditional channels of expressing concern, residents contacted school board members or administrators directly, formed their own organizations, or used their influence to shift attitudes in organizations to which they already belonged.
>
> Given these new circumstances, it is no longer at all clear what are the rights and expectations of tobacco chewing sons of mill workers in relation to those of formally dressed children of the clergy. On the one hand, one faction is in favor of mass expulsion of the "smokers" and "scamps," at least from the high school. On the other hand, attempts to enforce white collar standards in the schools have resulted in physical and verbal abuse of the teachers and demands that schools return confiscated cigarettes.
>
> 2. The communication system is becoming eclectic. Students, for instance, sometimes get out of homework by claiming that the school is trying to cut down on text book loss by not allowing books to be brought home. Alternatively, entirely honest students may accurately report events which disturb them, without their concern being generally known. Inquiry by concerned parents sometimes results in months of formal hearings and special showings of films.

One response by the citizenry is for a few people to spend a great deal of time becoming extremely knowledgeable about the schools. In 1973 one argument sometimes given for retaining school board members was that they and the administrators were the only people in the district who understood school financing, accreditation requirements, and other details. In 1977 it is not at all difficult to locate housewives and other citizens who know a great deal about details of school financing, contents of the original ES application, the relationship between school policy, state law on corporal punishment, and so on.

3. The sanction system is changing. Residents state that the grass roots protest meetings during the stressful consolidation years of the 1960s were much like those during the budget crises of the 1970s, but the earlier protests were smaller because the population was smaller. Residents also agree that attendance at PTA meetings, school board meetings, budget hearings, and other events involving citizen input fell off sharply after consolidation.

Later in the 1970s, residents decided that their strategy of "withdrawal" was allowing the schools and other public institutions to "get away with things." School board meetings became packed, and budgets were voted down in heavy voter turnouts. The schools were not necessarily either the cause or the focus of citizen protests, but may have been part of a more general movement toward citizen-initiated movements.

4. Monetary values are changing. The standard newspaper analysis that the voters are sick and tired of ever higher taxes needs to be qualified. It is true that given the limited amount of usable land, taxes have to be raised by increasing taxes on already existing homes. It is also true that some people vote down every budget out of principle. When questioned on the subject, however, residents often state, in one way or another, that their objection is having to pay for such things as the right to be left alone or the friendliness of police, things they feel should have been there free of charge.

While there was growing public concern over the "fat" in the school budgets, the actual levies reflect only a $400,000 increase during the inflationary years of 1973-1976. A summary of the levies for those years is presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Date, Amount and Outcome of School Levy Votes for South Umpqua School District: 1973-76

Date of Levy Vote	Amount Requested	Outcome	
		Defeated	Passed
May 14, 1973	$1,067,312	X	
June 28, 1973	1,032,312		X
May 7, 1974	1,289,719	X	
June 18, 1974	1,263,233		X
May 6, 1975	1,276,116	X	
August 5, 1975	1,219,079		X
April 20, 1976	1,641,483	X	
August 10, 1976	1,426,403	X	
September 21, 1976	1,414,403		X

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In South Umpqua resistance to school budgets will almost certainly result in higher school taxes. Opposition to the schools is consistent with opposition to the county IED budget, from which South Umpqua receives considerable funding. Many residents know that opposition to the schools is going to cost them higher taxes. However, in return for their effort, their children will not be watching objectional films, a situation which some residents feel they should not have needed to be responsible for in the first place.

As noted in Chapter 4, the public expresses four models of the school in South Umpqua as a tax-supported institution: a power base, a public convenience, a festive resource, and a separate and autonomous entity. During the 1973-77 period each of these models became a subject of public controversy. The schools were formally charged with not allowing parents into the buildings, not preventing undesirables from visiting the campuses, misusing funds designated for an all-weather track, and not keeping the public informed.

There have been four occasions in the past when the public has become outraged about student delinquency. The first was shortly after consolidation, when the superintendent was accused of arbitrarily reassigning staff positions. The second time was shortly after the ES grant was announced to the teachers at the fall inservice in 1972 and teachers were furious at learning of their new obligations. During this period, the CCE also was organized. The third occurred after the classified personnel organized and negotiated a hard won contract. Public concern about student conduct on school buses increased sharply. The fourth time was shortly after the Roseberg News Review published a list of administrators' salaries. Many people were shocked to discover that salaries were as much as twice what they had expected, and the volunteer Parent Patrol was organized.

All of these occasions of public concern had one thing in common: they occurred shortly after the schools were perceived as being too powerful. Residents' reasoning may have gone like this: If the schools are too powerful, then the schools are not doing their job. If the schools are

not doing their job, then they are permitting excessive delinquency. Therefore, if the schools are too powerful, they are permitting excessive delinquency.

Public opposition to other institutions and agencies, besides the school system which citizens viewed as being overly powerful, developed during roughly the same time period. Often, these agencies were federally controlled. At present writing, public opposition includes a campaign to repeal the state Land Control and Development Commission and a citizens' campaign against a federally proposed wilderness act which, according to its detractors, would increase forest fire danger, and incubate plagues of tussock moths, bark beetles, poison oak, and hydrophobia.

There is abundant evidence suggesting that residents in southwest Oregon are suspicious of federal money. Candidates for the school board often are questioned on the subject. The admonition, "Power follows the dollar," is used by some school districts to justify not using even federal matching funds, where there is no chance of federal interference. Yet in the interviews presented in this chapter, residents accepted, at least in principle, federal aid to education.

The simplest explanation for this anomaly between acceptance and rejection of outside interference is that the local residents have a much more sensitive perspective of "strings attached" than do those who administer funds from a distance. Outsiders are not likely to be interested in such matters as whether wilderness areas harbor insect plagues, whether Title IX has to be imposed on a district which is already hostile to the schools, or whether septic tanks are adequate in individual circumstances.

Protest over one type of outside interference easily can become protest over what is perceived to be the same type of interference but from another source. The more protest forums that are available, the more that are also available to protest school activities. For example, about 50 individuals gathered in the Tri-City elementary school gym to organize the Concerned Citizens of Tri-City in the interest of Tri-City sewer users. During the meeting, a number of examples of difficulties in dealing with county officials were given. The speaker encouraged the

group, "If we all stick together, we can make ourselves heard." A member of the audience responded, "If we stick together, maybe we can even change the schools." There was applause, and another member of the audience added, "When someone is elected to the school board, he becomes a member of the school team."

The controversy sparked by the DEQ ordering Fearless Fred to replace one adequate septic tank with another (See Chapter 3) is still going strong at the time of this writing. In a meeting at the Canyonville community center, a group of about 40 persons gathered to encourage support for changes in county and state decision-making patterns. Examples of county officials evicting widows and other apparently arbitrary conduct were given. Fearless encouraged participation from the audience:

> We can meet here again if we want. This building belongs to the city.
>
> No, it doesn't, a teacher in the audience replied. This building belongs to the school.
>
> That's even better, Fearless answered, grinning. We own the school.

CONCLUSIONS

The conflict between the schools and the community, which became so evident during South Umpqua's ES project, may have had positive, as well as negative, effects on the community. Toward the end of the ES project, residents were attending school board meetings, reviewing proposed textbooks, and writing letters to the editor about schools. Administrators were discussing administrative problems in the presence of teachers. Teachers were interviewing candidates for principalships, campaigning for school board members, and supporting classified personnel's labor demands. Ironically, such democratic procedures (in the form of teacher input and parent participation in school affairs, which evolved naturally through the circumstances of events) were the kind of activities which ES/Washington expected the administration to introduce formally as a condition for participation in the ES program. Insofar as this shift toward wider public involvement had educational benefits, it might have occurred with or without federal funds.

Throughout the period of South Umpqua's participation in the ES program there may have been more public and teacher support for the schools than first appearance would have it. Objections to the ES project were extremely numerous and often emphatic but seem to have been based more on a reaction to administrative strategy and style than to its goals. A great many members of the public expressed support for the schools in many ways, ranging from solicited work as volunteer aides, to unsolicited repair of broken windows in their children's classrooms. Teachers gave the vice superintendent a standing ovation during the MACOS hearings.

Division in the community also might have been less severe than first appearance would have it. As Max Gluckman has pointed out, what to an outsider might appear as divisive debate is often a symptom of community unity which leaves few if any scars (Gluckman 1964:313). In South Umpqua, distinctions between progressive and conservative teachers, or between traditional and modern citizens, almost disappear except during confrontation situations. It appears to be the confrontation which produces the distinction, rather than the distinction which produces the confrontation.

Public and teacher opposition to the schools, including the ES project actually may have strengthened the project. There are several ways in which organized public opposition can have educational value. Grass roots rebellions are mechanisms of assimilation; they are community building. When people are concerned about the schools, they pay more attention to their children. The resulting strengthening of community and family may thereby improve the learning environment.

During this period of school-community and teacher-administration confrontation, many predictions of student failure were made by a variety of persons who were in positions to evaluate the situation. Factors which might have been thought to work against student accomplishments include: self-fulfilling prophecy, teachers' attitudes, withdrawal of community support, and, ultimately, ineffective administrative behavior. However, student achievement in South Umpqua increased substantially, as measured by the California Achievement Tests and reported by school officials (see Chapter 8). The gains were not reported until late

in the ES project because of the longitudinal nature of the testing program, so disagreements regarding student achievement were until then expressed in terms of personal and professional opinions. Suggestions as to what factors influenced the reported gains in test scores must remain speculative.

Some possible explanations include the following:

1. The test scores might be in error, or the test biased. Quite a few residents, including some teachers, hold the opinion that they are, and the complex statistical analysis performed by the external evaluation contractor found no consistent achievement gain between 1975 and 1976 in South Umpqua that could be attributed to its participation in the ES program (Abt, Cerva and Marx; 1978:79).

2. Other educational programs, particularly the discontinued Title III (preschool) program, might have produced the gains. The participation of parents and older siblings in teaching preschoolers may have benefitted students of all ages.

3. Increased value of rural living may have increased learning expectations. During this period many college educated persons moved into the area, sometimes to work in the mills. A book store, a newspaper, and a research laboratory opened, all established by people who were attracted by rural advantages rather than by economic opportunity, per se.

4. The administrators worked extremely hard in seeing ES as well as other projects through to the end, in spite of physical, political, and perhaps career advantages to be gained from reducing efforts or allowing superficiality to influence the effectiveness of how the local or federal dollars were spent. The superintendent remained in the district nine years.

5. Teachers worked prodigiously hard. Some teachers could always be found in a school building at ten o'clock at night and they often took work home on weekends. Teachers had abundant and reasonable opportunities to "escape from the classroom" by turning their classes over to substitutes, to bargain for more conventional working conditions from their increasing position of strength, or to blame aides or volunteers for failure. However, insofar as was possible, temptations to reduce effort were rejected.

Instead, when administrative or public expectations were at a variance with the teachers' own goals, teachers tried to add the additional tasks to what they planned to do anyway.

6. ES funds provided opportunity to individualize instruction, diversify curriculum, provide aides and other assistants for teachers, improve record keeping, and in other ways, enrich the educational environment. Thus, student scores may have increased exactly as had been intended.

Elsewhere I have concluded that the reason that it is the most livable rural areas in Oregon which experienced organized voter rebellions is that they are also the first areas to be affected by migration from the cities (Hennigh, 1978). If this interpretation is correct, then it has predictive value. As other rural areas are affected by newcomers who want to get away from the cities, then the cost of maintaining a valued rural lifestyle will increase and opposition to the schools will develop. For the researcher, there should be abundant opportunities to observe and measure the effect of these forces on the relationship between rural schools and their communities.

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